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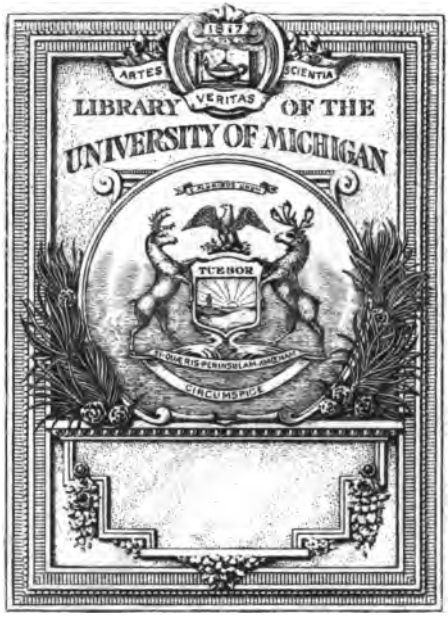
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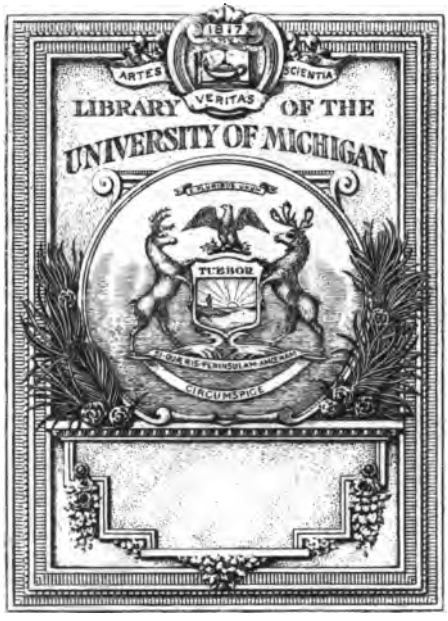
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THE

HISTORY

OF

HELVETIA,

CONTAINING THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

FEDERATIVE REPUBLICS,

TO THE MIDDLE OF

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

FRANCIS HARE NAYLOR, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

London:

PRINTED FOR J. MAWMAN, (SUCCESSOR TO MR. DILLY)
IN THE POULTRY.

1801.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury Square.

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HISTORY

HISTORY

OF THE

HELVETIC REPUBLICS.

CHAPTER IX.

General View of the Confederacy—War renewed—Siege of Zuric—Treachery of Brun—Death of Albert—Truce with Auſtria—Death of Agnes—Arnold of Cervola—War between Berne and the Biſhop of Bâle.

HAVING conducted our hiſtory thus far, it may not be improper to take a ſhort, and retroſpective view of the riſe and progreſs of the Helvetic confederacy; and to examine, with ſome degree of preciſion, the reſpective views of the different cantons, in acceding to the alliance. We ſhall then be enabled to form a more accurate eſtimate of the principles upon which they acted in thoſe important ſcenes, to which it remains for us to conduct our readers.

There is one ſtriking and characteriſtic feature, which diſtinguiſhes the emancipation of the Swiſs from all other revolutionary changes, which are recorded in the annals of mankind. The reader will eaſily perceive that we allude to the unexampled prudence and moderation of their conduct, in a ſituation when moderation and prudence are leaſt to be expected. Even during the firſt fervor of recovered liberty, we diſcover no ſymptoms of that ſanguinary and vindictive ſpirit, which has ſo often tarniſhed the nobleſt cauſe, and which perhaps contributes more effectually to the ſupport of arbitrary power, than all the guards and axes with which it is ſurrounded. Indeed, to a diſcriminating mind, the Helvetic confederacy ſeems not ſo much to be the union of independent ſtates, exerciſing a ſacred and inherent right, and conſolidating their individual force into one common maſs for the general advantage of the whole, as the league of a weak and inſulated people, impelled by the neceſſity of the moment, to combine for their mutual ſecurity againſt a dangerous and oppreſſive foe.

In a former part of this work, we entered, with ſome detail, into the ſituation of the Helvetic ſtates, before the ambitious projects of the houſe of Auſtria had rouſed them to a ſenſe of independance. Few, indeed, were the privileges which were

were then enjoyed by the Swiſs; but they were ſtill ſufficient to ſhew that their condition was very different from that of abject vaſſalage. Suffice it to obſerve, that no innovation could take place in the internal government of any canton, unleſs it's conſent was previouſly obtained. This invaluable right was guaranteed to them by the forms of the Germanic conſtitution, by which too they were, in ſome degree, authoriſed to reſiſt every unjuſt encroachment upon their hereditary franchiſes. Even Albert himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this, that throughout the whole career of his injuſtice, he affected a reſpect for eſtabliſhed uſages, which was by no means congenial to his temper. Nay more, when the oppoſition which he experienced, had at length convinced him that nothing was to be obtained by the artful ſyſtem he had adopted, he dared not venture to throw off the maſk, and appear in his natural character. But concealing his own ambitious projects, under the plauſible pretence of vindicating the controverted authority of the Germanic empire, he pretended to be reducing a refractory member to obedience, while he was in fact attempting to enſlave a free and independent people.

No ſooner had the firſt cantons ſhaken off the Auſtrian yoke, and ſecured their independance by the victory of Morgarten, than their union was

eſtabliſhed upon two leading principles, viz. *Mutual protection againſt the aggreſſion of any external foe*—and *the revival of the ancient conſtitution.* By way of ſecuring themſelves againſt the firſt, it was enacted, that *neither of the contracting parties ſhould acknowledge the juriſdiction of any foreign prince without the conſent of the other two*—and that in caſe of an attack, every man capable of bearing arms ſhould fly to the common ſtandard: *An attachment to the conſtitution they thought moſt likely to be promoted by the ſimple forms of civil juriſprudence, and the mild and equitable proceedings of the magiſtrates.* To theſe two points were all the wiſhes, and all the views of the firſt confederates reſtricted. Beyond the tranquil enjoyment of domeſtic comfort and perſonal ſecurity, their humble ambition beheld nothing attracting. All feudal rights were reſpected; all due allegiance to the imperial throne preſerved inviolate. A conduct founded upon ſuch principles of moderation, was dictated by hearts untainted by luxury, and unſeduced by intereſt. Yet it would have proved no eaſy taſk for the profoundeſt politician to have ſuggeſted a wiſer ſyſtem. It threw the whole odium of the war upon the houſe of Auſtria; it rendered all the imperial towns jealous of Albert.

The ſituation of the other cantons, at the time of their acceſſion to the league, was in many reſpects

ſpects different. Thus the objects of the alliance were gradually extended, as the circumſtances or ambition of it's members demanded other precautions, or inſpired other views.

Few propoſitions ſeem to us more capable of demonſtration, than *that man is by nature inclined to ſubmiſſion, and that it requires a more than common degree of miſconduct, on the part of his governors to make him reſiſt.** Whether this proceeds from habitual indolence—from the dread and uncertainty of a revolutionary change—or from a kind of innate reverence for all thoſe dazzling inſignia with which ſupreme power is uſually accompanied—is a problem which we ſhall leave to the philoſopher to reſolve.† The obſervation comes within the province of hiſtory, and is authenticated by her documents in every age.

The town of Lucerne was more immediately dependant upon the houſe of Auſtria, and would, in all probability, have patiently ſubmitted to the yoke, had it been impoſed with a leſs rigorous hand. This people conſequently, in embracing the alliance, had freſh obſtacles to encounter; nor was it by any means an eaſy taſk to reconcile allegiance towards their feu dallord, with an offenſive and defenſive alliance with his declared enemies. This difficulty did not exiſt with reſpect to the foreſt

* The American and French Revolutions are ſtriking inſtances of the juſtice of this remark. The fault in both caſes

foreſt cantons, who had never been brought to acknowledge the ſupremacy of Albert. Appearances were nevertheleſs to be obſerved with the world; and ſtrange as it muſt ſeem to every rational mind, we find an expreſs reſervation in favor of the *claims* of Auſtria, in a treaty, the manifeſt object of which was to *annihilate them all.*

The acceſſion of Zuric forms another epoch in the hiſtory of the confederacy, and gives it a ſtill different ſhade. Expoſed to inceſſant dangers from the treachery of domeſtic factions, who were abetted in their nefarious deſigns by a powerful party without the walls, the Zurickers conſidered their union with the foreſt cantons not only as a ſecurity againſt any external attack, but as the only effectual ſupport which this new conſtitution could receive. It is well worthy obſervation, that till now the limits of the confederacy had been confined to their reſpective territories. They were henceforth extended over a wider ſurface. The ſyſtem was no longer merely defenſive; the poſſibility of offenſive operations was foreſeen.

The confederacy had now acquired a degree of conſiſtency that rendered their alliance an object of no trifling importance. Under ſuch circumſtances, it could hardly be expected that the little ſtates of Zug and Glaris ſhould treat upon terms

of

of perfect equality. Thus we find, that under the denomination of confederates, they acquired little more than domeſtic ſecurity, derived from the protection of their new allies.

But the wealth and power of Berne entitled her to the higheſt conſideration. She brought an acceſſion of ſtrength, which was inferior alone to that of Zuric, and ſhe was beſides far leſs expoſed to any hoſtile invaſion. Situated at a greater diſtance from the Auſtrian territory, from whence alone any real danger was to be apprehended, her views of aggrandiſement were directed to another quarter. Yet it was not reaſonable to expect, that the foreſt cantons ſhould co-operate in extending the frontiers of Berne, on a ſide where they themſelves derived no real advantage from the acquiſition, without ſtipulating, at leaſt, to be indemnified for the neceſſary charges of ſuch an expedition. But in the Argau, which lay nearly at an equal diſtance from both, they were to ſerve at their own expence. This latter clauſe may be eaſily interpreted into a tacit declaration of their future intentions, to carry the war into the territory of their common foe.

The cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden, may very juſtly be regarded as the point where all the rays of the confederacy united, as

in one common centre. The other five cantons were more immediately connected with theſe; and through theſe, with each other. The object both of Berne and Zuric was evidently *aggrandiſement*—that of the foreſt cantons *ſecurity*. One principle however was common to them all: they all equally ſtruggled for the preſervation of their liberties. Thus was the houſe of Auſtria their natural and hereditary foe; the point to which their attention was unremittingly directed; for without the ſupport of that powerful family, the whole ſwarm of petty tyrants which eſpouſed the cauſe of ariſtocracy, were objects rather of ſcorn than of terror. An alliance founded upon ſuch a coincidence of intereſts, was ſubject to none of thoſe little jealouſies, which are uſually the bane of all political confederacies. Beſides, the Helvetic union was rather the effect of chance, and of a fortunate combination of fortuitous circumſtances, than the reſult of political ſpeculation, or of deep laid deſign.

From our knowledge of Albert's character, we may eaſily infer that the pacification, ſo recently effected by the mediation of the Margrave of Brandenburg, could not be of long duration. Impetuous and arrogant by nature, it is not eaſy to decide whether the Swiſs were moſt the objects of his inveteracy or of his contempt. Neither the

the examples of his father and brother, nor even that moſt uſeful of all leſſons, perſonal experience, could open his eyes, and get the better of a prejudice which was founded upon exaggerated calculations of his own power. He deſpiſed a people which had been formerly loſt in the great aggregate of Auſtrian dependancies, and had been conſidered as a mere cypher in all political computations. Even his own misfortunes availed him nothing; for he was willing to attribute them to any thing except to the real cauſe. No ſooner had one enterpriſe failed than he planned another. His finances were exhauſted, his provinces were depopulated, that the magnitude of his exertions might ſecure him againſt any reverſe of fortune. Perſuaded too, that he ſhould ſoon behold his abject rival at his feet, if he could once prevail upon the empire heartily to eſpouſe his cauſe—which he artfully repreſented as the common cauſe of monarchy—no endeavour was omitted on his part, which could tend to kindle jealouſies, or excite ſuſpicions. After applying in the moſt forcible manner to the intereſts and paſſions of the leading members, he addreſſed himſelf publicly to the diet, accuſing the Swiſs of want of fidelity in their engagements; and in particular, of having already infringed the late treaty, by renewing their alliance with Glaris. Their conduct, with reſpect to the empire, was repreſented as equally unjuſtifiable,

unjuſtifiable, and many inſtances adduced of diſregard for the imperial decree. The whole concluded with a petition to the emperor to declare them under the imperial ban, and to aſſiſt in the meritorious enterpriſe of reducing a refractory member. The confederates, on their part, ſtated in their own juſtification, that the treaty had no retroſpective reference whatever. They very readily admitted, that they were bound IN FUTURE never to receive a dependant of the houſe of Auſtria into their alliance. But their union with Zug and Glaris was of prior date, nor could it, by any caſuiſtical conſtruction, be deemed an infraction of the treaty.

The love of power is naturally ſo inherent in a royal mind, that it would have been the height of folly to expect that the emperor would liſten to the diſputants with an impartial ear. Indeed, from the very beginning, he appears to have entertained a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion in favor of the claims of Auſtria. Notwithſtanding which, upon his arrival at Zuric, in the month of September, he received the deputies from the united cantons with apparent benignity, and liſtened to their repreſentations with patient attention. They explained to him the nature of their confederacy, and the principles upon which they had acted; endeavouring, at the ſame time, to ſhew that they had

had done nothing prejudicial to the legal claims of Auſtria. Charles not only expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with theſe arguments, but adviſed them to draw up a vindication of their conduct, and to preſent it in the form of a memorial, to Albert. In this they readily acquieſced; but the event was ſuch as might be expected. Conteſts of this nature have ſeldom been determined by the pen: it is to the ſword alone that men muſt appeal for the vindication of their deareſt rights. The criſis is dreadful: but loſt indeed is the nation which can heſitate between ſlavery and death!

The memorial remained without an anſwer, and the duke continued his preparations with unremitting activity. While things were in
1354. this anxious ſtate of ſuſpenſe, Charles returned to Zuric, to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter; when finding that no progreſs had been made towards a pacification, he offered himſelf as mediator, and invited both parties to ſubmit to his award. The propoſal was eagerly embraced by Albert, who had nothing to loſe by the deciſion, and might eventually be a gainer. But the Swiſs had already ſuffered too much from confidence not to have learnt a little caution. The apparent candor of Queen Agnes was freſh in their memory, and they replied, that they were extremely grateful for the beneficent intentions of the

the emperor, and could have no objection to refer their cauſe to his arbitration, provided it was clearly underſtood beforehand, that the ſentence was nowiſe to affect the validity of their union. Charles, who, as we already have remarked, was ſtrongly prejudiced to their diſadvantage, affected to conſider this reſervation as a reflection upon his own integrity, and conſequently highly degrading to the dignity of his character. But finding that nothing could prevail upon them to give up the point, he was ſo irritated at their obſtinacy, that he proceeded, in the plenitude of his authority, to declare the bond null and void; under pretence that it was contrary to the laws of the Germanic body, for any member to form a league, without the conſent and approbation of the chief.

This was an unexpected blow, which the confederates knew not how to parry. A conſultation was immediately held between the delegates, to conſider what anſwer it was proper to return to the imperial decree. A warm debate took place. The danger of a refuſal was too evident not to appal the moſt determined. But on the other hand, it was impoſſible to ſubmit, without an abſolute dereliction of thoſe principles for which they had ſo long, and ſo honorably contended. To abandon, in the moment of their diſtreſs,

diſtreſs, thoſe friends in whoſe defence they had ſolemnly pledged themſelves to ſacrifice their lives, was diſhonor, was meanneſs in the extreme. It was therefore at length decided to make the following reply, by the mouth of Brun. " *It is ne-*
" *ceſſary your majeſty ſhould be appriſed, that the in-*
" *diſſoluble bond by which we are united, far from*
" *being dictated by a ſpirit of independance, was the*
" *only reſource which remained to preſerve us from*
" *abſolute ſlavery. It was made too at a time, when*
" *all our appeals to the empire had proved ineffectual.*
" *Your predeceſſors on the imperial throne ſanctioned*
" *the proceeding by their approbation. To the words*
" *of that very act we now appeal for proofs, that it*
" *was never our wiſh to throw off our ancient depen-*
" *dance upon the Germanic body, or even to deprive*
" *any of its members of their juſt and hereditary pre-*
" *rogatives. To our ſubſequent conduct we likewiſe*
" *appeal: Let that confirm, or invalidate the aſſer-*
" *tion. Far be it from us, even now, to deny Albert*
" *any claim which is not abſolutely inconſiſtent with*
" *our freedom. But to renounce an union, to which*
" *alone we are indebted for our independance, and to*
" *throw ourſelves blindly on the mercy of a prince, of*
" *whoſe violence and injuſtice we have experienced*
" *ſuch recent proofs, is a ſacrifice too great to be ex-*
" *pected. The pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria are*
" *an endleſs ſource of diſquietude. Let them be eſti-*
" *mated;*

" mated; let a price be fixed for our preſent emanci-
" pation from all future claims, and we will readily
" pay it: for we are a plain and artleſs people, little
" ſkilled in political caſuiſtry or legal diſcriminations;
" but we know the value of an oath, and our promiſe,
" once given, is inviolable."

Charles was ſo diſſatisfied with the firmneſs of the confederates, that he immediately broke up the conference, and left Zuric, having firſt ſtrictly enjoined all parties to refrain from hoſtilities, till his further pleaſure ſhould be known. In his way back he met Albert at Bruck, where he was eaſily prevailed upon to take an active part in the coalition.

No ſooner were the allied princes prepared to take the field, than the emperor's injunction was withdrawn, and the coaleſced army having paſſed the Glatt, took poſſeſſion of Rapperſwyl, which Albert had obliged Count John to cede upon eaſy terms, under color of a ſale. Few events could have taken place ſo diſtreſſing to the Zurickers; for Count John, the more completely to deceive them, had engaged to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality. Zuric was now ſurrounded on every ſide, and had no longer any dependance but on the courage and perſeverance of it citizens.

In

In detailing the events of the Helvetic union, it is no eaſy taſk for the hiſtorian to avoid the appearance of repetition; it is a defect inherent in the ſubject; for in all the attempts made by the Auſtrian princes to ſubjugate this gallant people, we have to deſcribe the ſame raſhneſs and arrogance on the one part, the ſame prudence and reſolution on the other. Innumerable hoſts are collected, to be diſperſed by a handful of men; and mighty preparations made, to vaniſh like the mountain ſmoke. Indeed, throughout the whole progreſs of this memorable conteſt, if we may be allowed to employ the emphatic language of Scripture, GOD SEEMS TO HAVE HARDENED THE HEARTS OF PRINCES, THAT HE MIGHT LEAD THEM MORE SURELY TO THEIR DESTRUCTION.

Albert now found himſelf at the head of a more numerous army than he had yet conducted to the overthrow of this devoted city. Nearly the ſame commanders appeared at the head of the auxiliary forces; all forgetful of their paſt miſcarriages, and elate with anticipated triumphs. In a few days after their arrival, they were joined by the emperor, with a large body of troops from his hereditary ſtates; when the whole of the combined force is ſuppoſed to have amounted to upwards of forty thouſand men. Yet notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority, both in number and in

Secrecy ſeldom prevails long in a confederate camp. The Zurickers were almoſt immediately informed of what had paſſed, and prudently reſolved to omit no opportunity of increaſing the miſunderſtanding. For this purpoſe they diſplayed the imperial eagle on the higheſt tower, in conjunction with the appropriate banner of the ſtate, meaning thereby to exhibit an unequivocal proof of their own loyalty, as a member of the Germanic body, and at the ſame time to admoniſh the deputies from the imperial cities, that they were waging war againſt a co-eſtate, and taking part in a quarrel which was totally foreign to the concerns of the empire, in defence of which they had been oſtenſibly ſummoned. Several of the inhabitants too found occaſion, under various pretexts, of gaining admiſſion into the allied camp, and artfully profited by the occaſion to diſſeminate a well-founded ſuſpicion reſpecting the real motives of the ſiege. A body compoſed of ſuch heterogeneous particles, needed little perſuaſion to ſeparate. Many of the allies were already weary of a war, in the event of which they had no immediate concern, and in which they had engaged merely from principles of duty. Remonſtrances in conſequence were daily offered to the emperor againſt the continuance of hoſtilities, in which the moſt forcible arguments were employed to ſhew the

the injuſtice of the undertaking, and the many obſtacles they had ſtill to encounter. Charles, who already began to repent his folly, in having rendered himſelf an inſtrument to ſerve the ambition of Auſtria, was ready enough to catch at any plauſible excuſe for withdrawing his aid. Having therefore ſummoned the confederate princes to council, he entertained them with a tedious harangue upon the duties of an emperor. In his public capacity, he ſaid, he was to be guided by the aggregate will of the whole body, and not by the ſuggeſtions of private friendſhip, or the dictates of perſonal intereſt. That, to his great ſurpriſe, he found that the Helvetic union was by no means conſidered to be a juſt cauſe for war, by the majority of the German ſtates; and that therefore, in conformity to their wiſhes, which had been manifeſted in the cleareſt manner, he announced his intention to retire.

Though it was obvious to the meaneſt capacity, that this inquiry ought to have been made before an army had been aſſembled, Charles prided himſelf not a little upon the ingenuity of the device, and departed immediately for Bohemia to enjoy the ſatisfaction of his prudent conduct, and to prepare for an expedition into Italy.

Albert, though now deſerted by all his allies, was too much exaſperated to hear of peace, and ſeemed determined to perſevere in the conteſt, ſo long as his hereditary dominions could furniſh him with the means of war. The plan was now entirely changed. Every thing which diſappointed pride could contrive, or unſatiated malice inſpire, for the deſtruction of mankind, was practiſed in its fulleſt extent. Nothing, however, deciſive took place on either ſide. The duke's reſources gradually waſted away. The exhauſted country no longer afforded it's wonted ſupplies. And no ſooner was the enemy's territory completely drained, than the licentious ſoldiery no longer diſtinguiſhed between friend and foe. A body of Hungarian horſe, which formed part of the Auſtrian army, treated every deſcription of people with the ſame rapacious inhumanity. Their rigorous contributions were alike exacted from all. Accuſtomed to that barbarous ſyſtem of bloodſhed, which in an age of ferocious bigotry prevailed between the Chriſtian and Mahomedan ſtates, they diſdained to ſubmit even to thoſe looſe and indulgent regulations, which in thoſe days of licence bore the name of diſcipline in an European army. Trained in the ſchool of plunder, and induced to bear arms from no other motive, but becauſe the profeſſion ſeemed to authoriſe an infringement of every

every divine command, they regarded all things which tempted their unbridled appetites as theirs, by the laws of war; diſdaining to inquire to what party they belonged.

There is a term to patience. The very worm may be trampled into reſiſtance. It was thus with the ſubjects of Auſtria. Albert was daily aſſailed with complaints and murmurs. To the firſt he was inſenſible by nature; but the latter were too often repeated not to carry conſiderable weight. Beſides, the example of the Helvetic ſtates wrought ſo forcibly upon his mind, that his wretched people at length extorted from his fears a degree of attention to their ſufferings, which they might for ever have vainly implored from his humanity. The neceſſity of finding a ſpeedy remedy was manifeſt to the dulleſt apprehenſion; and no effectual one could be employed but peace: nor could a treaty be propoſed, without previouſly conſenting to acknowledge the validity of the Helvetic union. It was a ſevere trial for the pride of Auſtria; but no alternative was left. The war could be carried on no longer. The ſentiments of the people had been announced in terms which admitted but of one conſtruction; and when the people are reſolute, no earthly power can reſiſt their will. Even the haughty ſoul of Albert was

conſtrained to yield. At a diet held at Ratiſbonne, he condeſcended publicly to allow
1355. the long conteſted point as a preliminary to negociation. Placability, however, was no ingredient in his character. Military operations had indeed ceaſed, but the ſpirit by which they had been fomented was by no means abated. Albert had but too lately experienced the inefficacy of all offenſive meaſures, to think of recommencing them for the preſent. But the ſituation of the Helvetic body afforded other means of attack, and to theſe he determined to recur.

It was apparent to every common obſerver, that the Helvetic ſtates were at this time influenced by very different motives. Zuric was ſo ſevere a ſufferer from the continuation of the war, that it was probable ſhe might be induced to every ſacrifice, but that of her independence, to ſecure a permanent peace. But the foreſt cantons were leſs expoſed, and their natural barrier left them little to apprehend; ſo that ſince the count of Kyburg, by opening again the communication between the two countries, had delivered them from all dread of an immediate ſcarcity, they felt careleſs of the event. The Zugers too had made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Wildenberg, by which they were freed from the perſecutions of a petty

petty deſpot, who had long rendered himſelf the terror of the adjacent valleys. This ſtriking oppoſition both of ſentiments and intereſts, tempted the duke to flatter himſelf that, by a little artful management, he might ſucceed in ſpreading a ſpirit of diſſention among the confederacy. With this view he addreſſed himſelf to the emperor, who was returned from his Italian expedition, and who had been choſen arbitrator by both parties, requeſting that he would impoſe ſuch conditions only as were conformable to ancient treaties, leaving the controverted points in the ſame ſtate of indeciſion in which he found them. Charles was eaſily prevailed upon, by his predilection for the houſe of Auſtria, to adopt any principles which the duke wiſhed to inculcate; and having drawn up the articles of accommodation conformably to the outline which was given him, he ſent them by Auſtrian deputies to be offered ſeparately to each individual canton, inſtead of ſubmitting them, in a fair and open way, to an aſſembly of their reſpective delegates. The views of Zuric were of too pacific a nature to admit of heſitation. The inſtrument was no ſooner preſented to Brun, than he ſigned it, without difficulty, in the preſence of a few ſenators: an action for which he has been ſeverely cenſured by his enemies; and one which, among many others of a ſimilar nature in the motley character of this extraordinary man,

man, it is by no means eaſy for his warmeſt advocates to defend. Exulting in their unexpected good fortune, the miniſters proceeded on their miſſion to the other cantons. But the ſame ſucceſs was not to be looked for. The foreſt cantons had been too often duped already, not to proceed with circumſpection. Beſides, there was a manifeſt duplicity in the language of the delegates, which was but little calculated to inſpire confidence. They therefore refuſed, in the moſt peremptory terms, to ſign the treaty, except it were firſt debated in a general aſſembly. No powers of perſuaſion could change the reſolution; it was abſolutely neceſſary to comply; ſo that a congreſs was ſummoned to meet at Zuric, at which all the cantons were invited to appear by their repreſentatives.

The diet was no ſooner opened, than the deed being laid before them, they were inſtantly ſtruck with the ambiguity of the ſtyle. The union with Zug and Glaris was not even mentioned: but there was a clauſe, which enacted the *reſtoration of all territories belonging to, or dependant upon, the houſe of Auſtria, which had been alienated during the war*; and this ſeemed applicable to the point in diſpute. Beſides, ſome partial diſtinctions, in favor of Zuric, excited a well-grounded ſuſpicion of premeditated treachery. But when they came to the

the article in which the foreſt cantons were ſtyled by the duke of Auſtria HIS FOREST CANTONS, they roſe, in indignation at the expreſſion, declaring, with one general accord, that they had been betrayed. "*What prince,*" exclaimed one of the deputies, while the hearts of his auditors beat high with ſympathetic applauſe—"*What prince* "*can boaſt that he ever conquered us? Was it at* "*Morgarten? Was it at Laupen we were ſubdued?* "*No: let him then rummage among the mouldy ar-* "*chives of his kingdom for documents to prove them* "*our progenitors, by a voluntary ſurrender of their* "*hereditary rights, gave him any authority over us.* "*Let him produce the inſtrument of our ſubjection, and* "*we are ready to obey.—If not, what made us ſlaves?* "*For as to laws which are unſanctioned by our free* "*conſent, we know them not; they are no laws for us.* "*In defence of our freedom, we have ſhed our deareſt* "*blood. The ſword is ſtill unſheathed; and till our* "*independance be acknowledged in unequivocal terms,* "*it ſhall never more return to the ſcabbard.*"

It was in vain for Brun to attempt any juſtification of his conduct; his colleagues were deaf to all he ſaid, though he employed every plauſible argument which a mind fertile in expedients could ſuggeſt. The natural ſimplicity of his character, and that eaſy faith which is the child of conſcious integrity, had induced him, as he pretended, to place

place implicit confidence in the veracity of the Auſtrian miniſters, who had aſſured him that the inſtrument was conformable, in every reſpect, to the wiſhes of the Helvetic union; and that having no reaſon to doubt the truth of their aſſertion, he had ſubſcribed it without further heſitation. What had been done, he added, could not then be recalled. But if the confederates would liſten to his advice, they would appeal immediately to the emperor, ſtating the unfairneſs of the whole tranſaction; in which caſe, he had not the ſmalleſt doubt but that ſome expedient might be ſtill hit upon, to accommodate matters to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties.

The project was agreed to, as the beſt which could be adopted in the preſent dilemma; and delegates were diſpatched to Charles, who was then in Moravia, to requeſt a more favourable interpretation of the award. But he was either ſo occupied with more important buſineſs, or ſo indifferent to the remonſtrances of the deluded Swiſs, that he left the memorial unanſwered till the enſuing ſummer. Zuric, in the interim, ſtrengthened her alliance with Auſtria by ſeveral additional clauſes, which ſeem to have been dictated by a deſpicable ſpirit of egoiſm, as they were diametrically repugnant to her engagements with the other cantons.

1356.

This

This is one inſtance, among many, of the numberleſs inconveniencies which attend all federative governments: an evil which, from inevitable conſequences, muſt always increaſe in direct proportion to the extent of the country in which it prevails. To obviate this, it would be neceſſary to expunge from the heart of man two paſſions which are inherent in his very nature, and which poſſibly form the maſter-ſprings of human conduct. The ambition and intereſt of the individual ſtate muſt ever operate, with greater effect, in all political tranſactions, than the glory or advantage of the whole. Juſt as in private life, we find the majority of the world more ſtrongly influenced by conſiderations of private emolument than by the moſt ſplendid theories of public good. We every day meet with egoiſts, who would ſacrifice their country to their own ambition; but few indeed are the inſtances which hiſtory records, of thoſe who have devoted themſelves for the ſalvation of their country.

At length the emperor condeſcended to publiſh the long-expected reſcript, which was to elucidate his former decree. His partiality for the houſe of Auſtria became now more manifeſt than ever, as Zug and Glaris were declared to be no longer members of the Helvetic confederacy. This edict had ſcarcely appeared, when the Auſtrian bailiff, Albert

Albert of Buckheim, preſented himſelf to receive, in perſon, the homage which was due to Albert, as their legal ſovereign. The conduct of the Zugers, upon this trying occaſion, was reſolute and dignified; their language firm, but guarded. "*Till* "*the duke has confirmed our bond, we are ignorant* "*what terms to employ,*" was the only anſwer the bailiff could obtain.

The other cantons inſtantly took the alarm, and a diet was aſſembled at Lucerne, to conſider the line of conduct which it might be proper to adopt. The debate was ſhort. Their courage was the only monitor they deigned to conſult. The proſpect of a war appeared certain; ſo they determined to be before-hand with the duke, and to occupy the defiles of Zug, which were then regarded as the keys of Switzerland, before an Auſtrian army could approach. The deputies from Glaris were preſent, and the bond was renewed with every impoſing ceremony which could tend to imprint it, in indelible characters, upon the hearts of the ſpectators. Content with mutual aſſurances of reciprocal ſupport, the aſſembly ſeparated, each member returning to his native valley, bleſt in the conſolatory reflection of having performed a great and important duty to poſterity.

Under

Under moſt other circumſtances, ſo decided a ſtep would have been a ſufficient reaſon for rekindling the flame of war; but Charles had previouſly reſolved to advance no further. Nor would he have been induced to commit his authority thus far, had he not been deceived, by a poſitive aſſurance from Albert, that he would no longer experience any oppoſition to his decree. Even the duke himſelf was in no ſituation to move: he was arrived at the laſt ſcene of his earthly career, and lay dangerouſly ill at Vienna. Diſappointed ambition, added to the natural irritability of his temper, had contributed to
1358. haſten his end. His death however did not take place till after an armiſtice was concluded, by the interpoſition of ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons.

From a ſurvey of his political character, poſterity muſt be at a loſs to diſcover for what actions of his life Albert has received the ſurname of WISE, unleſs we can ſuppoſe it to have been intended in deriſion. The early part of his life had been dedicated to the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, which he quitted upon the death of his brother, when the whole of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion devolved to him. That he may have been deeply verſed in all that myſterious jargon which, to the utter degradation of the human intellect, ſo long conſti-

tuted

tuted the abſtruſe ſcience of theology, is a fact which we ſhall not take upon ourſelves to controvert. And from thoſe who can prevail upon themſelves to dignify ſuch dull purſuits with the appellation of learning, he might poſſibly have merited the title of WISE. But it is vain to ſearch for any criteria of a great and comprehenſive mind, for any of thoſe appropriate qualities which give luſtre to a throne—the very reverſe is the caſe. In all the tranſactions of his reign we diſcover the violence of the prieſt; in none the wiſdom of the ſovereign.

Immediately after the death of Albert, Rudolph, his eldeſt ſon, demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, but with the expreſs condition that Zug and Glaris ſhould continue to pay the wonted impoſts to the houſe of Auſtria; while the duke on his part, by way of compromiſe, promiſed that the bailiffs whom he ſhould appoint, ſhould be choſen from among the inhabitants of Schweitz and Zuric. At the ſame time, the alliance between Auſtria and Zuric, which had been originally limited to five years, was prolonged for two more.

Having thus eſtabliſhed a temporary calm, Rudolph began ſeriouſly to turn his thoughts to thoſe projects of aggrandiſement which have been ever the favourite purſuit of the Auſtrian family. With

With this view he purchaſed the march of Rapperſwyl of the count of Hapſburg, and cauſed a bridge to be thrown acroſs the lower part of the lake, under pretence of facilitating a paſſage to the numerous crowds of pilgrims, who, attracted by the reputed ſanctity of the ſpot, came to offer their vows and oblations to the holy Virgin, at the ſhrine of Einſiedlen. But the real motive was probably of a more worldly nature. By connecting his own dominions on either ſide the lake, he gave additional ſtrength to both.

1362. Nothing material occurred for ſome time. In the beginning of the year 1362, John biſhop of Gurk, chancellor of the houſe of Auſtria, was raiſed to the important poſt of governor of Swabia, Alſace, Sundgau, Argau, Thurgau, the canton of Glaris, and the Black Foreſt; with uncontroled juriſdiction and authority over all bailiffs and magiſtrates whatever, and with full power to mortgage, alienate, or exchange any of the territories over which he preſided. In the latter caſe, however, he was to take no deciſive ſtep, without the participation and conſent of two of the counſellors, who were joined with him to the number of thirty-nine in this extenſive miſſion, and who had been ſelected, with care, from the moſt illuſtrious families in the adjacent provinces. One of the

the firſt acts of this new adminiſtration was to prolong the truce with the foreſt cantons.

Zuric meanwhile had entered into a new alliance with St. Gall, and moſt of the other towns upon the lake of Conſtance, which was to ſubſiſt during the life of the emperor, and for two years after his death. Charles too made a treaty with Zuric, by which he not only ratified all the privileges that city enjoyed, but gave his ſanction to the Helvetic bond. At the ſame time he guaranteed to them the poſſeſſion of any towns or territories not belonging to him or his allies, which they might acquire, either by conqueſt, or any other means, during the term to which this alliance was reſtricted. This permiſſion extended expreſsly to the town of Rapperſwyl, but with this proviſo, that no attempt ſhould be made upon it, except in caſe of a rupture between him and the houſe of Auſtria. Various other clauſes, which though highly intereſting to the parties concerned, can be but little ſo to a modern reader, were likewiſe inſerted, which contributed eſſentially both to the comfort and ſecurity of the commonwealth.

To a people who are ever awake to their real intereſts, there are few occurrences which do not afford

afford ſome materials for ingenuity to work upon. The canton of Uri had long been deſirous of aboliſhing every remaining veſtige of feudal ſubjection, and ſeized with eagerneſs the preſent occaſion to purchaſe all the prerogatives and revenues which belonged to the convent of Wettingen within their territory, and which the abbot was induced, both by pecuniary embarraſſments, and the difficulty he experienced in collecting his dues, to diſpoſe of for a little ready money.

Albert left four ſons, two of whom ſurvived their father but a ſhort time. Rudolph the elder was murdered upon a hunting party: his brother Frederick was cut off by a rapid malady 1364. in the flower of his days. This year is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the death of Queen Agnes. She died in the convent which ſhe had herſelf founded at Konigsfelden, after having inhabited it for the ſpace of ſixty years. In an age when an oſtentatious diſplay of piety was regarded as the firſt of all Chriſtian duties, and frequently as an apology for the total want of every moral virtue, we cannot be ſurpriſed if the exemplary devotion of this princeſs ſhould have conferred upon her a reputation of ſanctity to which the violence of her paſſions do not ſeem ſo fully to have entitled her. In the courſe of our hiſtory we have ſo frequently had occaſion to

introduce this lady to our reader's notice, that little remains for us now to add. We have already ſeen, that her mind was not ſo entirely engroſſed with the auſterity of her religious practices, or with the awful preparation for another world, as to have acquired an indifference, perfectly evangelical, for the concerns and grandeurs of this preſent life. The temporal aggrandiſement of her own family appears to have occupied ſo large a ſhare in her affections, that not more than half her divided ſoul was left free for the purſuit of eternal glory. It was the leading paſſion of her heart, and rivalled heaven in her attachments; and perhaps had the two objects been brought in competition with each other, pride might have turned the ſcale in favor of the houſe of Auſtria. Her conduct towards the confederates was but an illiberal return for the unlimited confidence they repoſed in her integrity. Nor can her unrelenting perſecution of her father's murderers, and her inhuman treatment of the virtuous Adelaide, be eaſily reconciled with thoſe doctrines of charity and forgiveneſs which are equally taught by the precept and example of the divine founder of that religion whoſe ceremonial duties ſhe ſo oſtentatiouſly practiſed. Indeed, Agnes appears to us to have been one of thoſe characters which are not uncommon in the world, who look only to external objects, and who

who conſider the forms and diſcipline of the church to be more eſſential to ſalvation than a life of moral rectitude, of ſocial ſympathy, and diffuſive benevolence.

The whole of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion was once more divided between two brothers, Albert and Leopold, the ſurviving ſons of Albert *the Wiſe*. Their characters are repreſented by contemporary writers as being of very oppoſite caſts. The former was endowed with thoſe ſoft and amiable qualities which characteriſe the friend of humanity, and render the poſſeſſor at once the object of our eſteem and love. In the eſtimation of Leopold, theſe were the humble virtues of a private ſtation. The fears of mankind, and not their affections, were the ſource from whence the monarch ſhould derive his power. To queſtion his authority was treaſon; to oppoſe his will was rebellion.

For the preſent, however, both theſe princes were ſo compleatly occupied in defending the Tyrol againſt the duke of Bavaria, that they had but little opportunity for diſplaying their different characters in their full extent; and were both equally induced, from motives of policy, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Swiſs.

But a ſtorm was collecting in another quarter, which threatened to burſt upon the adjacent provinces with deſtructive fury. During the long wars which had deſolated the fertile provinces of France, even the moſt induſtrious had been diverted from all agricultural improvements by the terror of a hoſtile army. Thus a habit of idleneſs and diſſipation had ſpread by degrees among the lower claſſes, to the utter excluſion of every honourable purſuit. The active ſpirit of this enterprizing people, being turned away from its proper channel, aſſumed a character more congenial to the temper of the times. Accuſtomed to no other law but that of force, they were eaſily induced to conſider ſtrength as the only juſt criterion of property; and led from neceſſity to embrace a ſyſtem of which they had been long the innocent and devoted victims. Hence numerous bands of freebooters aſſembled in almoſt every province of France, but particularly upon the northern frontier. Indulging in thoſe licentious exceſſes which civil commotions, beyond any other ſpecies of warfare, are calculated to excite, they plundered the adjacent country with indiſcriminate rapacity. But their animoſity was particularly directed againſt the convents and monaſteries. Even towns of conſiderable ſtrength were no longer able to afford a ſecure aſylum to their affrighted

affrighted inhabitants, as numbers flocked daily to the ſtandard of licentiouſneſs; wretches who were unappaled at the danger of an enterpriſe, whenever the proſpect of booty ſeemed to promiſe a proportionate reward. To them the loſs of men was a conſideration of indifference, as ſupplies were continually pouring in from the diſbanded companies, which had been trained to rapine in the long and fatal conteſts between France and England. Nor were leaders of experience wanting. The whole tribe of noble adventurers, whoſe venal ſervices were directed wherever the hope of plunder, or the increaſe of pay, attracted their mercenary courage, no ſooner found themſelves without employment in the armies of the belligerent princes, than they embarked in a courſe of life, to which they were equally incited by former habits, and preſent diſtreſs. At the head of troops whoſe terrific denominations, for the moſt part the offspring of caprice, but too clearly indicated the ferocious objects of their purſuit, they ſhaped their lawleſs courſe in various directions, wherever the comforts of ſocial life afforded a temptation to inſatiate avarice. For ſeveral years the frontier provinces both of Italy and Germany had been expoſed to the deſultory inroads of theſe diſciplined robbers. Their ſyſtem of warfare bore a ſtrong reſemblance to that which is practiſed by the wild and rapacious cavalry of Arabia. When

oppoſed by a ſuperior force they diſappeared on a ſudden, with the rapidity of a whirlwind, leaving, like that, behind them the mournful traces of their deſolating march.

One of theſe armies of adventurers is repreſented, upon credible authority, as amounting to the prodigious force of forty thouſand men. It was headed by *Arnold of Cervola*, a man deſcended from an illuſtrious family in Perigord, but of deſperate fortune, and profligate manners. After laying waſte the provinces of Alſace and Lorraine, he appeared ſuddenly before Metz, and obliged the citizens to redeem themſelves from plunder by the payment of a conſiderable ſum. The alarm became general in Switzerland, as they approached its borders. An army was aſſembled in haſte, and ordered to march to the defence of Bâle, againſt which the enemy was advancing.

Hitherto the emperor had remained a tranquil ſpectator of the public calamity; but the urgency of the peril at length awakened him from this diſgraceful torpor. He was ſtruck with the danger to which his own dominions would be expoſed, if theſe lawleſs banditti were ſuffered to proceed in their deſtructive career. By rapid marches he gained the banks of the Rhine, reſolving to diſpute the paſſage, ſhould they attempt to

to penetrate into the interior of Germany. Arnold was no ſooner informed of Charles's approach, than he fell back upon the mountains of Burgundy, unwilling to contend with a force which might render his fortune dubious. Unaccuſtomed to every military precaution, and made furious by their diſappointment, Cervola's troops no longer preſerved the ſmalleſt appearance of ſubordination; but aſſembling in tumultuous groupes, publicly accuſed their commander of incapacity, and want of courage. Arnold preſented himſelf, with undaunted reſolution, to the clamorous hoſt, aſſerted the rights of a commander, and threatened the moſt refractory with the chaſtiſement they merited. But his power was no more. The aſcendancy he had obtained was due to a character of ſuperior raſhneſs; it was the child of opinion, and was frail as the baſeleſs fabrick from which it aroſe. All attempts to regain his authority were ineffectual; expoſtulation increaſed the ferment. From invectives they proceeded to blows, the tumult became univerſal, and Arnold periſhed in the affray.

Satisfied with being thus delivered from the apprehenſion of any immediate danger, Charles did not attempt to purſue the fugitives, but ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted. From the moment the evil became remote, his love of money

got the better of his prudence. Avarice was the reigning paſſion of his mind. Every object was ſacrificed to the inſatiate deſire of amaſſing wealth. Indeed to ſuch a degree had this ſordid vice taken root, that he preferred expoſing himſelf to the cenſures of the ſovereign pontiff, rather than incur the expences incidental to any powerful exertions for his relief.

Urban the eighth had been inſulted in his palace at Avignon, by one of thoſe bands of adventurers which we have juſt deſcribed, and had been obliged to redeem his capital by the payment of an enormous tribute. In his diſtreſs, he had recourſe to the emperor for aſſiſtance. But indulgencies, and diſpenſations, had ſo fallen in their value, that Charles declined any riſk to obtain them, though proffered by Urban, with the liberality of a man who feels that his ſtore is inexhauſtible, and that he may continue to give, without ever growing poorer by his generoſity.

The conduct of the Berners, at this period, though apparently reduced to no regular ſyſtem, was dictated by a ſpirit of intereſt, to which few people have been more attentive than the Swiſs; but which it is not ſo eaſy to reconcile with thoſe high-flown ſentiments of liberty, of which they made ſuch oſtentatious parade. If we inveſtigate

inveſtigate their actions with a critic eye, we ſhall find them by turns the abettors of arbitrary power, or the avowed champions of civil freedom, juſt as the gale of intereſt directed their courſe. Tyranny, in the perſon of a co-burgher of Berne, aſſumed a leſs hateful character. But no ſooner had the deſpotic baron incurred the reſentment of theſe haughty republicans, than the rights of the people were to be vindicated by force of arms. Thus, with an ambition truly republican, they ſacrificed every principle, even liberty itſelf, to the aggrandiſement of the ſtate. Money, however, continued ſtill to be their favourite engine; and whenever a favourable opportunity preſented itſelf, it was employed with the ſpirit of a people who underſtand the true value of the commodity in which they traffic. The refinements of calculations, as is frequently the caſe with refinements of every deſcription, were in ſome inſtances carried to exceſs. By economiſing too much, they became the dupes of their own prudence; for every increaſe of power which was thrown into the ſcale of Auſtria, was a concern of much greater magnitude, than any momentary expence which might be incurred in defeating the projects of that ambitious houſe.

1366. The town of Fribourg, in the Briſgau, unable any longer to contend againſt the count of Furſtenberg,

Furſtenberg, applied to the Berners for ſupport. The ſituation of Fribourg was too remote to be an object of immediate intereſt; ſo that when the certain coſts of the enterpriſe came to be weighed againſt it's probable advantages, the ſcale preponderated on the ſide of peace, and a negative was returned.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, the Friburgers reſolved to make a laſt effort in defence of their independance, and with the addition of a ſmall body of auxiliaries from Bâle, Briſſac, and other neighbouring towns, they gave battle to the count. The attempt proved fatal. Their defeat was irreparable. Deprived of every poſſible reſource, no choice was left them, but to pay a heavy contribution to the count, by way of indemnification for the charges of the war, and to throw themſelves unconditionally into the arms of Auſtria.

1367. The following year, Berne was engaged in a ſanguinary conteſt with the biſhop of Bâle. Bienne had been formerly an imperial city, the adminiſtration of which was entruſted to the counts of Neuchatel. In proceſs of time this juriſdiction had been abuſively extended, and rendered hereditary in the family. In the ſequel, one of the heirs of that houſe having been elevated to the epiſcopacy

epiſcopacy of Bâle, made a donation of all his poſſeſſions in Helvetia to that ſee. The immunities of Bienne could not indeed be legally affected by this transfer; on the contrary, they had been repeatedly confirmed by the expreſs declarations of different emperors. In conſequence of which, we find the town of Bienne exerciſing, upon all occaſions, an independant juriſdiction, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition on the part of the biſhops. Hiſtory informs us, that ſhe was ſucceſſively allied with Soleure, Friburg, and Berne. The treaty with this latter city was renewed in 1352, at which period it was rendered perpetual.

Fifteen years after this, John of Vienna ſucceeded to the epiſcopal chair. This prelate was a man of a haughty character, and arbitrary principles. He had imbibed in his youth the higheſt ideas of eccleſiaſtical pre-eminence, and had now a fit opportunity of reducing his favourite theory to a practical experiment. But ſo long as the connection ſubſiſted between Bienne and Berne, he had little to expect from the obedience of a people whoſe ideas of government did not perfectly correſpond with his own, and whoſe opinions were backed by arguments far too forcible for him to combat with any tolerable proſpect of ſucceſs. He therefore reſolved to proceed by other means, and firſt to try the efficacy of his ſpiritual weapons.

A man-

A mandate was in conſequence iſſued to his pretended ſubjects, enjoining them inſtantly to break an alliance which was totally inconſiſtent with their allegiance to him. For ſome time he waited with patience to ſee the effect of this paſtoral exhortation; but finding that all his expoſtulations, however urgent, were productive of no ſalutary conſequences, he thought it time to aſſume a different tone. Putting himſelf therefore at the head of a numerous body of cavalry, he fell on a ſudden upon the unſuſpecting citizens; and having avenged his inſulted dignity by an ample effuſion of Chriſtian blood,* he proceeded, in the plenitude of his epiſcopal authority, to declare the league null and void. Violence, though frequently employed as ſuch, proves ſeldom the means of perſuaſion. The wretched inhabitants were no ſooner delivered from the preſence of their perſecutor, than they addreſſed their complaints and lamentations to their indignant allies. The Berners armed: their confederates were ſummoned to the field. The biſhop, however, was appriſed of their approach, in time to ſeize upon ſome of the principal burghers, whom he carried as hoſtages to the caſtle of Neuchatel, which was then a place of conſiderable ſtrength.

Having re-eſtabliſhed their injured friends in the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, and in the poſſeſſion

* This villain would have been quite at home among the Manchester Parsons when they were planning and directing the massacre of August, 1816.

poſſeſſion of thoſe ſcanty comforts which the exterminating zeal of the epiſcopal faction had ſtill left them, the Berners proceeded to offenſive meaſures. A caſtle belonging to the biſhop, in the vicinity of Bienne, which had been employed as a place of confinement, was carried by ſtorm. The priſoners were ſet at liberty, and the fortreſs was razed to the ground.

An attempt to ſurprize Neuchatel was not equally ſucceſsful. The project failed: and the approach of winter rendering any regular attack altogether impracticable, nothing remained for the republican army but to return home.

The enſuing ſpring, it was reſolved that the epiſcopal territory ſhould be invaded by the combined forces of Berne and Soleure. A ſpot in the Munſter-thal was choſen for the union of their reſpective forces. The charms of this romantic valley are familiar to every enlightened traveller; nor is he leſs acquainted with the celebrated paſſage of *Pierre-pertuis*, that wonderful work of Roman induſtry. Through this it was neceſſary to penetrate, though the biſhop, who was conſcious of the importance of the poſt, had fortified it with regular works, and ſelected his braveſt troops to defend them. But the perſevering courage of the republicans was ſuperior to every

Or among the Birmingham Parsons when they were instigating the riots of July, 179—

every obſtacle, and the eccleſiaſtical troops were driven from their entrenchments, after a brave and obſtinate defence.

1368. The biſhop was not as yet ſufficiently humbled to give up the conteſt, but determined to open the next campaign by a diverſion upon the territory of Berne. With this intent, he had advanced to Olten, a ſmall town upon the Aar, which he had lately mortgaged to the count of Nidau; when, from a deſire of ingratiating himſelf with his powerful neighbours, the count refuſed him a paſſage; and the river was ſo ſwoln with inceſſant rains that it was no where fordable. The prelate remonſtrated loudly upon the cruelty of the proceeding. But all he could urge was ineffectual. The count was in poſſeſſion of the town, and turned a deaf ear to his entreaties.

Finding himſelf thus unfortunately precluded from every reaſonable hope of retaliation, the biſhop began to liſten, with leſs apparent reluctance, to the proffered mediation of the adjacent ſtates. After much diſcuſſion, it was agreed that the diſpute ſhould be referred to arbitration; the iſſue of which was, that each party was to ſit down contented with the expenditure of the war. But the Berners were condemned to a fine of thirty thouſand florins, by way of puniſhment for their

their wanton deſtruction of ſeveral churches in the Munſter-thal. Three thouſand were immediately paid, but the remainder appears to have been never claimed, as they complained loudly of the injuſtice of the ſentence, upon pretence that they ought not to be anſwerable for the conſequences of a war in which they had not been the aggreſſors.

It would be an unneceſſary treſpaſs upon the reader's patience, to detain him with a long and circumſtantial narrative of all the petty conteſts which ſucceſſively aroſe between the confederates and the adjacent barons. The ferocity of the latter had been carried to the higheſt pitch. Their caſtles had long been converted into the receptacles of plunder; nor could the merchant travel with ſecurity, unleſs protected by a numerous eſcort. Indeed to ſuch an extent had this evil ſpread, that we diſcover the name of a count of Hapſburg among theſe formidable foes to order and morality. Quarrels of this deſcription, though they afford an ample field for the diſplay of perſonal proweſs, are ſo perfectly unintereſting in the detail, that we ſhall paſs them over in the ſilent contempt which is due to obſcure and ſordid guilt.

1373. Nor ſhould we deem a mercenary expedition, undertaken by three thouſand of the confederates,

federates, to ſupport the *Viſconti* in the Italian wars, to be more worthy notice, was it not the firſt inſtance when we find the Swiſs engaging in foreign pay. Unfortunately for the happineſs of Helvetia, this example became contagious. The love of glory, combining with the love of gold, had irreſiſtible attractions. The nerve of the European infantry was compoſed of auxiliary Swiſs; who, when worn out in foreign ſervice, or enriched by a fortunate campaign, carried back to their native homes all the vices and follies which they had gleaned in the changeful ſcene of a military life; and by gradually introducing a corruption of manners, and a taſte for expence, contributed more powerfully than any other cauſe to the final diſſolution of the Helvetic confederacy.

CHAP.

CHAPTER. X.

Ingelram de Coucy—Death of the Emperor—His Character—Progreſs of Literature—Schiſm in the Church—Attempt upon Soleure—Renewal of the War—Battle of Sempach—Weſen beſieged and taken.

A. D. 1375.

IN the perſon of Arnold of Cervola we have already been made acquainted with the origin of thoſe adventurous bands which inundated Europe about the middle of the fourteenth century. But there is ſtill a degree of myſtery which envelops the whole of thoſe extraordinary expeditions, and a want of preciſion, and clearneſs, in the accounts tranſmitted to us by contemporary writers, which muſt render the reſearches of a modern hiſtorian not only difficult, but unſatisfactory. We find immenſe armies ſtarting up, like the fabled hoſts of Cadmus, as it were from the ground. We are made acquainted with the deſolation which accompanied their baneful march. We read of the towns they ſacked; of the countries they pillaged. But the whole relation is interſperſed with ſuch marvellous inci-

dents, that it ſeems rather the fabulous invention of a brain diſordered by the workings of terror, than an authentic narrative founded upon the evidence of hiſtoric truth. To ſearch for any ſatisfactory ſolution of the problem at this diſtance of time, would prove a laborious, if not an impracticable undertaking. In the courſe of the laſt chapter we gave ſome development to our ideas: more plauſible arguments we find it difficult to adduce.

Ingelram de Coucy, the father of him whoſe exploits we are about to commemorate, was deſcended from an ancient and illuſtrious houſe in Picardy. He is ſaid to have married Catharine of Auſtria, a daughter of Duke Leopold, who is memorable for his defeat at Morgarten. We are told too, that her father, not finding it convenient to advance the marriage-portion, agreed to mortgage a part of his dominions in Alſace and the Argau, by way of ſecurity for future payment. Occupied in diſtant enterpriſes, and poſſeſſed of abundant wealth, Ingelram was negligent in demanding the arrears, ſo that the intereſt had been ſuffered to accumulate during a ſucceſſion of years.

But his ſon, who was of a more prudent diſpoſition, began ſeriouſly to calculate the vaſt importance of the ſum in queſtion, and addreſſed his

his claims to the reigning dukes. The brothers replied, that they were perfect ſtrangers to the contract; but that the lands in diſpute being *male tenures*, it was impoſſible for any right to have devolved to Coucy on the part of his mother. Ingelram was not of a temper to be ſatisfied with vague excuſes; and had immediate recourſe to Edward the third of England (whoſe daughter Iſabella he had married) and to Charles the fifth of France, from both of whom he received conſiderable ſupplies, either in men, or money. The emperor too granted him full permiſſion to purſue his claim by force of arms.

At a time when the greater part of the Chriſtian princes were at peace with each other, it was no arduous taſk to aſſemble an army. Coucy's ſtandard was no ſooner erected, than adventurers flocked in crowds from every nation of Europe. In a ſhort time he found himſelf at the head of between fifty and ſixty thouſand combatants, of whom the greater proportion were Engliſh. Having collected this formidable hoſt, he directed his march towards the banks of the Rhine. In his progreſs he was continually joined by large reinforcements—the miſerable remains of thoſe undiſciplined banditti, whom we have already ſeen laying waſte the frontiers of Germany, under various leaders.

Leopold was apprized of the preparations which were making, nor was he inactive on his part. His firſt object was to ſecure the co-operation of the confederates, whoſe good will it was of the greateſt conſequence for him to conciliate. Being ſatisfied of their friendly intentions, he iſſued the ſtricteſt orders to his ſubjects, that they ſhould retire into the neareſt towns with their moſt valuable effects, having previouſly deſtroyed whatever they were unable to remove. Having thus employed every precaution that prudence could dictate, he waited the approach of the tempeſt with anxious ſuſpenſe.

It was about the time of harveſt, when Coucy firſt appeared upon the confines of Alſace. Irregular bands of partiſans, who had been attracted to his ſtandard by the expectation of plunder, led the way, ſweeping all before them with the reſiſtleſs fury of a whirlwind. The foreſt cantons, though not inſenſible to the ruin to which they ſhould themſelves be expoſed, if ſuch a licentious body were allowed to penetrate into the Argau, were ſtill unable ſo far to conquer their hereditary prejudice againſt the houſe of Auſtria, as to reſolve to move in it's defence. The canton of Schweitz, which obſerved the Auſtrian princes with the ſame unconquerable jealouſy, with which the ſtates of Greece had formerly regarded the enterpriſing Philip,

Philip, was particularly averſe to any project of alliance, and was indefatigable in her endeavors to prevent the confederates from taking an active part in the conteſt. But Zuric and Berne were leſs bigoted to ancient prejudices, and had the wiſdom to ſacrifice all ſecondary conſiderations to the general good. They entered into a treaty with the duke, by which all former animoſities were ſuſpended during the ſpace of ſeven months, and engaged to bring their combined forces into the field, in caſe the terrific hoſt of ſtrangers ſhould penetrate into the country between the Aar and the Rhine. They promiſed, at the ſame time, to employ their influence with the ſtates of Soleure and Lucerne, to prevail upon them alſo to join the common ſtandard. The only equivalent which they required of Auſtria in return, was to prolong the truce with the foreſt cantons for ten years.

Having laid waſte the fertile province of Alſace, deſtroyed the caſtles, and ſacked the towns, Coucy appeared before Briſſac, into which Leopold had thrown himſelf, with the flower of his nobility. The conduct of the duke, upon this occaſion, did honor to his prudence. It was probable, that if he could eſcape the firſt violence of the ſhock, there would be little to apprehend, as the enor-

mous force of the enemy muſt inevitably periſh from it's own unwieldy numbers.

Inſtead of occupying himſelf in the ſiege, Ingelram advanced to the borders of Switzerland, ſpreading terror and devaſtation wherever he came. Since the invaſion of the northern barbarians, ſo ſevere a ſcourge had not viſited this happy land. To determine what line of conduct to purſue was no eaſy taſk; but it was more congenial to the ſpirit of a free people to die, if die they muſt, with arms in their hands. They reſolved, in conſequence, to meet the ſtorm. The united forces of Berne and Soleure advanced to Herzogenbuchſee, in the upper Argau, where they were joined by a ſmall detachment of Auſtrians. Meanwhile the Zurickers, reinforced by a ſtrong body from Lucerne, took poſt near Sur, in the lower Argau. Coucy notwithſtanding continued his progreſs. He was already arrived upon the banks of the Aar, when the confederates finding themſelves expoſed to the whole brunt of the war, and ſuſpecting that Leopold might have left them in this unprotected ſtate from intereſted motives, fell back upon their own territory. The ſituation of the enemy was beſides an additional inducement for them to avoid any deciſive action. Their ranks grew daily thinner. Numbers periſhed from

from want of common neceſſaries. Many too had deſerted, having already obtained every thing which is an incentive to ſordid minds—an abundant ſpoil. But the flower of the army ſtill remained entire, and conſiſted in a numerous cavalry, accoutered in all the ſplendor of a chivalrous age, and animated by that romantic ſpirit which delights in danger.

A body like this was almoſt invincible. Their ſtrength too was increaſed by the terror which preceded their march. Indeed ſo general was the panic, that even thoſe obvious precautions which common prudence might have dictated, unaided by military ſtudies, were in many places totally omitted. Some of the moſt important paſſes on the Jura were left unguarded. The defence of theſe had been committed to the counts of Kyburg and Nidau, but their neglect, in not taking poſſeſſion of them without loſs of time, was unpardonable, and expoſed them both to the imputation of treachery.

Coucy was now maſter of the whole courſe of the Aar from Olten to Buren. Meeting with no reſiſtance, he divided his army into ſeparate corps, that his operations might be extended over a wider ſurface, and ſupplies more eaſily procured. In a word, the whole country between the Reuſs,

the Limmat and the Aar, was expoſed to the incurſions of the hoſtile troops, who levied contributions with all the remorſeleſs rapacity of men whom habits of blood, and preſent diſtreſs, had rendered callous to every ſentiment of humanity.

Winter, however, was approaching with rapid ſtrides; and to that the miſerable inhabitants now looked forward for their delivery with anxious expectation. They knew that the ſeverity of an Alpine climate would render it impoſſible for the beſt appointed army to keep the field; and they were aware that the enemy was but ill prepared to contend againſt the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. The froſt too ſet in with unuſual vigor, and even at an earlier period than was cuſtomary. Coucy's ſituation grew every day more diſtreſſing. To ſave his troops from inevitable deſtruction, no expedient was left but to quarter them in the different villages. This too, from the nature of the country, was at beſt a dangerous meaſure, and what the Swiſs had been waiting for with impatience. The inſulated poſition of the hamlets obliged him to extend his line beyond what was ſtrictly prudent. The enemy, taking advantage of their local knowledge, fell upon the detached bodies in their cantonments, and cut them off before any reinforcements could be ſent to their relief.

relief. Whoever is acquainted with the topography of Helvetia, muſt feel how well that country is calculated for a war of poſts. Even the beſt diſciplined armies are expoſed to continual loſſes, from the impoſſibility of acting in condenſed maſſes. Flying corps are ſurrounded and taken, even while the main body is moving in the full career of victory.

So heterogeneous a force as that which Coucy led, was but little calculated to ſtruggle againſt the calamities to which they were now expoſed. They were every hour the victims of freſh diſaſters. Their reſolution ſunk with their change of fortune, while their adverſaries derived an increaſe of courage from every temporary ſucceſs. The country was exhauſted by the neceſſary conſumption, and ſtill more by the wanton profuſion of the invaders. Supplies were no where to be procured, while loud and urgent clamors announced the general diſtreſs.

Coucy's head-quarters had lately been removed to the convent of St. Urban. Elated by partial triumphs, the Berners aimed at a more important enterpriſe, and reſolved to ſurpriſe the general in the night. The attack was conducted with ſecrecy, and executed with ability. The confuſion was univerſal; no one was at his proper poſt.

In

In a moment the aiſles and cloiſters were ſtrewed with the ſlain. Even the altars were polluted with blood. In the hurry and darkneſs of the ſcene, all reſiſtance became vain. To fly was their only hope. Diſperſed in the neighbouring woods, they hid themſelves from the avenging ſword, where numbers periſhed from cold. In a word, at the dawn of day the Berners found themſelves completely victorious, and returned in triumph, decorated with the ſpoils and ſplendid trappings of the ſlain.

The diſtreſs of Coucy was now become extreme. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon, joined to the rigorous precautions of the Swiſs, deprived him of all reſources. Famine ſtared him in the face, and menaced his army with all the horrors of a lingering death. Nothing remained but to attempt a retreat into Alſace; nor was this without hazard; but under exiſting circumſtances it was to be riſked at all events. In this diſaſtrous ſtate the military talents of the commander were eminently diſplayed. He did all that a prudent and experienced ſoldier could do; and after ſurmounting every obſtacle, in ſpite of all the efforts of his adverſaries, arrived at the very ſpot from whence he had ſo lately departed. But how widely different was his ſituation! His army was diminiſhed, his hopes were defeated, his fame was ſunk. Yet notwith-

notwithſtanding the fatal iſſue of this raſh and ill-concerted expedition, it cannot be denied that Coucy was poſſeſſed of abilities far above the level of mediocrity, and that he was eminenly diſtinguiſhed by all the brilliant qualities of that romantic age. But to conduct a heterogeneous band, oompoſed of the dregs and refuſe of all the European nations, and to ſupport them in a foreign country, without either magazines or allies, and where the natives were univerſally hoſtile to his views, required a combination of talents, which but ſeldom fall to the lot of man.

Alexander, it is true, was ſucceſsful in his invaſion of Perſia. But ſuch examples are dangerous: like the treacherous meteor, they conduct to ruin. The eloquent romance of Quintus Curtius led the Swediſh madman to his grave. Perhaps too, the enterpriſing genius of Coucy was electrified by the heroic atchievements of the ſon of Philip. But he ought to have recollected, that he was neither at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, nor was he marching againſt a people effeminate as the ſubjects of Darius. The enterprize was raſh, and could only be juſtified by victory.

Yet ſuch was the alarm occaſioned by the late invaſion, that Leopold was eager to ſeize upon any expedient which could ſecure him againſt a ſecond

ſecond viſit; and a fortunate combination of circumſtances now affording him an opportunity of terminating the quarrel in a ſatisfactory manner, he embraced it without heſitation.

Upon the death of Rudolph of Nidau, who fell at Buren, by an arrow from an Engliſh bow, his rich ſucceſſion was divided between the counts of Thierſtein and Kyburg, who were his neareſt collateral heirs. But the turbulent and aſpiring biſhop of Bâle was preparing to conteſt the inheritance, under pretence that it devolved to him as a *military fief*, in default of a lineal repreſentative. After much altercation and ſome bloodſhed, it was at length ſettled, that the diſpute ſhould be referred to the judgment of Providence; or, in other words, ſhould be determined by the chance of arms. Fifty-ſix knights were choſen by either party, to whoſe proweſs the deciſion of this momentous queſtion was committed. The combat was ſupported on both ſides with obſtinate courage, till fortune at length declared againſt the baffled prelate. Money, however, being a more important object to the victors than any increaſe of territory, and ſome difficulties having ariſen in the diviſion of the ſpoil, they were eaſily prevailed on to ſell the counties of Nidau and Buren to the duke of Auſtria for the ſum of forty-eight thouſand florins. No ſooner was the purchaſe concluded,

concluded, than it was offered by Leopold to Coucy, and accepted by him, in full conſideration of all his claims.

The invaders had ſcarcely quitted the Auſtrian frontier, than Leopold agreed to an armiſtice with the confederates for eleven years. During this happy period of uninterrupted tranquillity, the annals of Helvetia afford ſcarce any occurrence to captivate the attention of a modern reader. Scenes of barbariſm and bloodſhed are unfortunately calculated to produce a ſtrong effect upon the human mind; but the peaceful enjoyments of innocence and retirement, though poſſibly the happieſt ſtate to which our precarious deſtiny can attain, are tame and unintereſting in the detail. The placid ſtream, which creeps through the enamelled mead, though far more beneficial to the labours of man than the fierce and impetuous torrent, inſpires not thoſe ſublime ſenſations of amazement and grandeur which are produced by the fall of Shaffhauſen, or the cataracts of Niagara.

Changes, however, were frequently taking place in the political balance of Helvetia; but they were effected by contract, and not by arms. Exhauſted by his reſtleſs ambition, no reſource was left to the biſhop of Bâle but to alienate a portion of the epiſcopal

epiſcopal domain, and he in conſequence ceded the town of *Little Bâle* to the houſe of Auſtria, for a pecuniary conſideration. By a ſimilar
1377. arrangement, the republic of Berne became poſſeſſed of Arberg, with its dependant territory. This acquiſition, it is true, gave additional ſolidity to the political fabric, but it at the ſame time aggrieved the public with ſuch an increaſe of debt, that the people began to view the proceedings of government with a jealous eye. To ſuch a degree too did this ſpirit of diſaffection ſpread, that the conſtitution itſelf was expoſed to the moſt imminent peril, as we ſhall have occaſion more fully to obſerve in the proceſs of this work.

1378. The death of the emperor occaſioned no material change in the political horizon, as he had before-hand ſecured the imperial dignity to his ſon Wenceſlaus, who was crowned king of the Romans, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1375. The character of Charles the fourth has been very differently drawn, according as the views and intereſts of his biographers have directed their pen. Though the partiality he ſhewed for men of letters, and the encouragement he gave to the univerſity of Prague, ſeem to have prejudiced the more enlightened in his favor. The eccleſiaſtics, on the other hand, whoſe pride and oſtentation he

he checked with becoming ſeverity, complain heavily of the harſhneſs of his government. It cannot indeed be denied, that in the adminiſtration of juſtice he was rigorous and auſtere; but it muſt at the ſame time be acknowledged, that ſo far as his own private intereſt was unconcerned, his ſentences were for the moſt part dictated by a ſpirit of equity, not very common in that turbulent and licentious age. He is likewiſe blamed by many of the old German writers, for having neglected the imperial dominions in Italy, and having ſuffered the Venetians to make themſelves maſters of the whole country between the Adige and the Adriatic. In this accuſation we diſcover rather the characteriſtics of prudence than of puſillanimity; though national vanity may have been induced to give it a different interpretation. Italy had been long the rock upon which the power of Germany had ſplit. But the gallant and enterpriſing genius of the age embraced without reflection every object, which might eventually conduce to military fame; and to balance the difficulties of an undertaking againſt it's probable advantages, was univerſally reprobated as the ſymptom of a low and ignoble mind.

During his conteſt with Clement the ſixth, Charles diſplayed both firmneſs and good ſenſe, in an eminent degree. He inſiſted upon the Pope's ceaſing

ceaſing to call the German empire a *fief of the holy ſee*, and the *emperors his vaſſals*. And when he found that the pontiff was determined to perſevere in his arrogant claim, inſtead of courting ruin by expoſing himſelf ſingly to the implacable vengeance of a vindictive clergy, he very prudently ſummoned a diet at Metz, in which the inſolent pretenſion was rejected with diſdain. Germany too was indebted to Charles for the *golden bull*. It was compoſed by the civilian Bartolus; and though it favors ſtrongly of the myſtical pedantry and corrupted taſte of the age, it was certainly productive of benefit, by giving a more ſtable and regular form to the complex ſyſtem of that intricate conſtitution. Thus far the portrait of Charles appears in a favorable point of view.—We muſt now examine it in a different light. His partiality for Bohemia led him frequently to ſacrifice the intereſts of the empire to that favorite object of his hereditary affection. To the aggrandiſement of his own family he is likewiſe accuſed of having been addicted, even beyond what is pardonable in the chief of an elective monarchy. But the greateſt blot we diſcover in his character was an inſatiable avidity after wealth, by which he was tempted to patroniſe every ſpecies of abuſe. The imperial authority was conſtantly on the ſtretch to create new privileges, merely that he might diſpoſe of them to the higheſt

higheſt bidder. Under this corrupt adminiſtration every thing became venal. Several of the principal cities of Germany took advantage of his mercenary ſpirit to purchaſe an exemption from all feudal juriſdiction. This gave riſe to the vulgar proverb, "*that Charles had plucked the eagle.*" Vanity too appears to have formed a prominent feature in this motley character. This paſſion, in all probability, was not without its influence in dictating the golden bull; as many of it's moſt important proviſions turn wholly upon the arrangement and diſtribution of objects, which to the eye of reaſon are contemptible and trivial, but which in the eſtimation of German pride conſtitute the moſt momentous concerns of regal power. Nor can we wonder that a ſovereign, who had no ſooner aſſigned the great offices of ſtate to the moſt eminent of the German princes, than he vainly arrogated to himſelf a paramount ſupremacy over all the European potentates, ſhould regard the regulation of external ceremony as one of the moſt intereſting occupations which can engage the attention of a rational being. Yet was the authority of this univerſal monarch ſo limited in his own country, that a part of his equipage was once detained at Worms by a butcher, whoſe bill his attendants had neglected to diſcharge.

The period we are now deſcribing is, to a philoſophical obſerver, one of the moſt intereſting in the annals of mankind; as the human genius was beginning to emerge from that intellectual chaos into which it had ſo long been plunged, by the united efforts of pedantry and ſuperſtition. Though perhaps the ſalutary effects of this happy revolution were leſs ſenſibly felt among the mountains of Helvetia, than in moſt other parts of the civilized world; yet we ſhall not, we conceive, be rendering an ungrateful ſervice to the enlightened reader, if we profit by the preſent ſtagnation of events, to take a haſty view of the rapid progreſs, which reaſon and ſcience were daily making under the genial influence of an Italian ſun.

It is obſervable, in all ages, that the firſt ſteps towards literary improvement have been announced by the timid eſſays of the paſtoral muſe. In the ſouthern provinces of France the modern bard firſt tuned his ſylvan reed. The Italians were delighted with theſe imperfect ſpecimens. Imitation is the child of admiration. They attempted to copy what caught their fancy. Nor can it be wondered that a people, whoſe language is harmony, ſhould in a ſhort time have arrived at a degree of perfection which the ruder accents of the Gallic tongue could never equal.

DANTE,

DANTE, who died in 1321, notwithſtanding the extravagance of his plan and the obſcurity of his ſtyle, has ſometimes burſt out into a ſtrain of ſublimity, which no ſubſequent poet of any nation, Shakeſpear and Milton alone excepted, has ever attained. We have only to regret that the ſubject, which he choſe, is not of a more intereſting kind; and that the characters he ſelected for the objects of his inveſtives, have in general figured upon ſuch obſcure theatres, that their names and vices would long ſince have been buried in the oblivion they merited, had they not been called to an inglorious immortality, by the indignant pen of the Florentine bard.

The name of PETRARCH has been ſo long held ſacred by the admirers of elegiac poetry, that a writer can ſcarce eſcape the imputation of literary hereſy, who ſhall attempt to pluck away even a ſingle leaf from his wreathed brow. We are ready to acknowledge, in their fulleſt extent, all the important obligations which the Italian language owes to his refining taſte. We feel the beauty of his numbers, we admire the harmony of his verſification: yet muſt we ſtill lament, that a genius capable of ſuch ſublime productions, ſhould have waſted, in deploring the cruelty of Laura, years which might undoubtedly have been more profitably employed by either party. In the few in-

ſtances in which he has preſumed to deviate from this querulous ſtrain, particularly in his animated attack upon the corruptions of modern Babylon, he breaks out into a dignity of ſtyle, and diſplays a vigor of conception, which prove him capable of doing juſtice to the nobleſt themes. Yet while we venture an opinion, which will probably be cenſured for its ſeverity, we ſhould be unjuſt to the memory of this celebrated man, were we to conceal what is due, from the literary world, to his unremitting zeal for the revival of claſſic taſte, and claſſic learning.

Almoſt every thing we admire in that ſpecies of writing, of which Boccasio may juſtly be deemed the inventor, with a long catalogue of the beſt theatrical productions of every European ſtage, are indebted to his lively invention, and comic vein, for a conſiderable portion of their celebrity. Beſides, he at once gave a poliſh to the Italian proſe, which no ſucceeding writer has improved, and none except Machiavel equalled.

But while we look with an admiring eye to the bright horizon, and hail the riſing ſun with a kind of religious enthuſiaſm, we cannot avoid diſcerning the multifarious ſpots with which his ſplendid orbit is obſcured. Not even Petrarch himſelf, elegant as his compoſitions in general are, is free

from

from the pedantry of the times—a defect which in all periods has been common to the Italian writers. His frequent introduction of *pagan*, or, as he might poſſibly have termed them, of *claſſic* deities, and his application of them to the myſteries of Chriſtianity, occaſion a confuſion of ideas, which nothing but the ignorance of the age could excuſe, or nothing but its corrupted taſte could admire.

The arts too kept pace in ſome degree with the progreſs of literature. Many of the moſt uſeful diſcoveries, which even now contribute eſſentially to the comforts of life, ſprang from the inventive genius of the fourteenth century. Faiance, glaſs, and paper, were manufactured in ſeveral towns of Italy. Notes too were employed in muſic. Spectacles aſſiſted the imperfect ſight. Gunpowder likewiſe may be claſſed among the uſeful productions of this creative period. There ſeems no doubt that cannon were employed in the defence of Algeſiras by the Moors; and ſome hiſtorians even attribute the victory at Crecy to the uſe of artillery.

Wenceſlaus, who mounted the imperial throne at the age of ſeventeen, found the empire, and indeed all Europe, divided by the grand ſchiſm of the weſt. Urban the ſixth, a Neopolitan by birth,

had been raiſed to the papal chair by the Italian cardinals, under the influence of a Roman mob. In the firſt moment of frantic triumph, upon beholding the holy father once more reſtored to the capital of the Chriſtian world, it was univerſally believed, throughout that corrupt city, that the ſuffrages of the ſacred college had been guided by the immediate impulſe of the Holy Spirit. But no ſooner had they recovered their ſober ſenſes, than they began to perceive that this elect of heaven was not only ſubject to all the infirmities of our degenerate nature, but that he was the victim of every malignant paſſion which can degrade and vilify the human character. By his extortions, pride, and ſeverity, he ſo completely diſguſted thoſe to whoſe inſpired choice he had ſo lately owed the triple crown, that the majority of the cardinals retired to Fondi, where they declared the former election void, on pretence that the turbulent interference of the populace had operated with greater effect upon their minds than the preternatural communication of the divine will. Having been prevented at Rome from exerciſing that freedom of ſentiment which is eſſential to the validity of an election, they proceeded to a new choice, which fell upon Robert, the ſon of Amadeus, count of Geneva. The new pope immediately aſſumed the name of Clement, and eſtabliſhed his court at Avignon.

This

This ſchiſm threw all Europe into a convulſion. The emperor, with the kings of England, Hungary, Portugal, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark and Poland, as well as moſt of the Italian ſtates, ſtuck cloſe to the ſee of Rome; while France, Spain, Savoy, Scotland, and Naples, declared in favor of Clement. The animoſity with which this ridiculous conteſt was carried on, ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the inſignificancy of the objects in whoſe defence they were contending. While nothing was omitted by the worthleſs competitors to ſpread the flame of diſcord over all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. Saints of every deſcription, and every nation, were called in, as auxiliaries, by either party. Saint Catharine of Sienna, a very celebrated perſonage in the legends of catholiciſm, engaged in ſupport of Urban, with all the acrimonious virulence of a polemical diſputant; while the adverſe faction, by way of counteracting the effects of ſuch high authority, played off their revelations and miracles with unbluſhing artifice, and intrepid hypocriſy.

Switzerland indeed appears to have acted, upon this trying occaſion, with a degree of prudence, which is uncommon in an age when controverſial theology was ſo much in faſhion. During the whole of this abſurd and contemptible ſtrife, the Swiſs wiſely perſevered in their ſyſtem of neutrality.

lity. But ſtill the bitterneſs and acrimony with which the hoſtile pontiffs combated each other—their vain and impious appeals to the interpoſition of Providence—the anathemas and maledictions which they reciprocally vomited forth—contributed ſo eſſentially to diminiſh thoſe ſentiments of reſpect and infallibility, which bigotry had for ages attached to the character of the ſovereign pontiff, that we do not feel ourſelves guilty of an unneceſſary treſpaſs upon the reader's patience, in adverting to a tranſaction, which was productive of ſo memorable a revolution in the religious opinions of mankind. Every event, which could conduce to diffuſe a ſpirit of inquiry, was a ſtep gained towards the reformation of thoſe abuſes, which had ſo long been encouraged by the court of Rome, as the moſt productive ſources of wealth, and the moſt ſolid foundations of power.

In pity to our reader, we ſhall paſs over in ſilence thoſe petty quarrels which occaſionally troubled the harmony of the Helvetic confederacy. But the attempt of the count of Kyburg, upon the town of Soleure, appears to us to merit more minute inveſtigation. It was the misfortune, or more properly ſpeaking, the *folly* of the princes of that age, to aim at a ſtyle of magnificence far beyond what their limited revenues could ſupport. Every count, however minute and

and inſignificant, muſt poſſeſs all the ſplendid and appropriate gradations of a royal houſehold. The neceſſary conſequence of this childiſh weakneſs was ruin. The count of Kyburg, among many others of his illuſtrious compeers, had ſacrificed the moſt eſſential intereſts of his ſtates to the empty vanity of drawing-room parade. Preſſed on every ſide by impending diſtreſs, he formed the bold deſign, by one deciſive blow, to extricate himſelf from all his difficulties. Should he prove ſucceſsful in the attempt, he would not only regain poſſeſſion of all his hereditary dominions, (many parts of which he had been obliged to alienate) but would make himſelf maſter of the important town of Soleure. Nor did he doubt but that the brilliancy of the acquiſition would in great meaſure obliterate the infamy of the enterpriſe.

It is certain that ſeveral of the neighboring princes were not only privy to the deſign, but were prepared to march in ſupport of the count, the very moment he was maſter of the place. Even Leopold himſelf was not exempt from ſuſpicion, though no poſitive proof could be adduced of his intended co-operation.

One of the dark nights of November was fixed upon for the execution of the plot. A ſelect body of troops was to approach the gates in ſilence, which

which one of the canons of the cathedral,[x] whoſe houſe was ſituated near the walls, had engaged to open. Having thus gained admiſſion, they were to ſecure the principal magiſtrates, and take poſſeſſion of the arſenal. Every thing was prepared accordingly. The alarm-bell was muffled. The ſoldiers were on their march. And the fate of Soleure ſeemed haſtening to a criſis. At this awful moment an event took place, which ſaved the town, and covered the conſpirators with that merited contempt, which is univerſally the lot of unſucceſsful villainy, but which is ſometimes loſt amid the deluſive brilliancy of triumphant guilt.

A peaſant, having obſerved a troop of horſe advancing cautiouſly towards the city, ſuſpected that ſomething hoſtile might be intended againſt his native land. By a nearer path he hurried to the gates, where he arrived before them, and calling vociferouſly to the guard, warned him of the impending danger. The intelligence was immediately communicated to the chief magiſtrate, who gave orders for the alarm-bell to be rung. The bell, as we have already obſerved, was muffled. This left no doubt of a conſpiracy. The enemy were already at the gates, and finding that they were diſcovered, retired in haſte, revenging themſelves cruelly upon the harmleſs and inoffenſive peaſantry for the diſgraceful failure of their plot.

[x] So
In any act of publick wickedneſs a prieſt is ſure to be concerned.

So flagrant a breach of the law of nâtions could not fail to excite a general ſentiment of indignation throughout the Helvetic ſtates; but particularly at Berne, which, from it's vicinity to the territory of Kyburg, was moſt expoſed to a ſimilar outrage. To ſuffer the offence to paſs unrevenged, was to invite ambition to renew it. They reſolved, however, to act, not only with vigor, but with caution; and in conſequence, demanded of Leopold, by an extraordinary embaſſy, whether they were at liberty to proceed to hoſtilities againſt the count, without infringing the treaty. The duke of Auſtria replied, "that ſince the count "had got into a ſcrape, he muſt extricate himſelf "as well as he could; but that for his own part "he was reſolved not to interfere."

No ſooner were the delegates returned with this anſwer, than the Berners entered the territory of Kyburg in hoſtile array. Unable to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the torrent, the count was ſoon reduced to the humiliation of ſupplicating for a truce till the following year, in hopes of engaging ſome of his former friends to aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs. But on whatever ſide he addreſſed his complaints, he met only with a cold repulſe. So that finding himſelf abandoned by all mankind, he gave way to the bitterneſs of his affliction, and died, in a ſhort time, of a broken heart.

This

1383. This event, however, was far from putting an end to the reſentment of the confederates. At the expiration of the truce, the war was renewed with freſh vigor by Berne and Soleure. The caſtles of Bucheck, Grunenberg, Frieſnberg, Grimmenſtein, Schweinberg, Trachſilwald, and Schwanden fell ſucceſſively a prey to their victorious arms. Encouraged by the tide of proſperity, they prepared to ſtrike a more deciſive blow; and having ſummoned their allies in the
1384. following ſpring, they reſolved to open the campaign by the ſiege of Burgdorf, a place of ſome ſtrength, and the uſual reſidence of the Kyburg family. The foreſt cantons flew with alacrity at the call. For there was an energy in their character, which ſeemed to delight in danger. To be free, was the firſt object of their exiſtence; the ſecond was to deſtroy the foes of freedom. Zuric, Zug, and Glaris, ſent their contingents. Even the duke of Savoy, who might have been ſuſpected of an hereditary bias for the adverſe party, fulfilled his engagements with a degree of integrity, that is not always to be met with in the cabinets of princes.

The army, when united, amounted to upwards of fifteen thouſand men; and the ſiege was conducted with ſuch vigor, that the garriſon was ſoon reduced to capitulate. A ſuſpenſion took place,

place, upon condition that the town ſhould ſurrender to the allied army, unleſs relieved within ſix weeks. During the truce, Montford, a dependant of the houſe of Auſtria, approached with a numerous and well-appointed cavalry, within ſight of the allied camp. But finding it too ſtrong to be attempted with any proſpect of ſucceſs, he retired, having firſt contrived to throw two hundred men into the town, with a ſcanty ſupply of proviſions. This, however, was ſufficient for the purpoſe of Bertold, who was entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs during the minority of his two nephews. All he wanted was a plauſible excuſe for not complying with the terms of the armiſtice. The allies remonſtrated warmly againſt this breach of faith. But Bertold was inflexible. So that, finding themſelves reduced to difficulties from want of proviſions, they were ſoon compelled to raiſe the ſiege.

Bertold was too prudent not to diſcover the impoſſibility of ſupporting himſelf, for any length of time, againſt the ſuperior force of the allies. The people were already exhauſted by the burdens of the war, and were terrified at the proſpect of being expoſed to a repetition of thoſe ſufferings from which they were ſo lately relieved. With loud and repeated clamors they called for peace: and declared their reſolution of ſubmitting

ſubmitting to any conditions the enemy might exact, rather than undergo the horrors of a ſecond ſiege. To language like this there is but one reply; and an opportunity ſoon offering for an amicable accommodation, Bertold embraced it with eagerneſs. All parties being inclined to peace, the treaty was ſoon brought to a happy concluſion; and the towns of Burgdorf and Thun ceded in perpetuity to the republic of Berne, in conſideration of the ſum of 37,800 florins.*

The horrors of war were now ſuſpended; the ſlaughtering ſword was arreſted by the ſoothing voice of negociation, but the calm was only momentary, and preparatory to the approaching ſtorm. There is ſomething ſo attractive in the charms of power, that it requires no moderate portion of fortitude and forbearance to renounce the pre-eminence we have once enjoyed. Qualilities like theſe are not often to be found. They are the appanages of a diſtinguiſhed few. Nor can they be expected from men, who have been taught, even during the imbecillity of childhood, that every thing they behold was created for their enjoyment, was deſtined for their ſervice.

* This tranſaction is related with conſiderable variations by Stumpf and Tſchudi, but we have preferred the authority of Juſtinger and Stettler, as moſt ſatisfactory in our opinion.

It

It was not to be ſuppoſed, then, that Leopold, notwithſtanding the character of moderation which he thought convenient to aſſume, could behold with indifference the aggrandiſement of the Helvetic ſtates. By the retreat of Coucy he was in great meaſure extricated from all his difficulties. The weak adminiſtration of Wenceſlaus left him nothing to apprehend from that quarter. The moment appeared opportune for the accompliſhment of the grand project, which he had long meditated in ſecret, but from the execution of which he had hitherto been diverted by a variety of incidents, with which the reader has already been made acquainted.

The proſperity of republican Helvetia was a conſtant and augmenting ſource of mortification. While that dangerous confederacy flouriſhed, it was in vain for fortune to ſmile. Every enjoyment was embittered by the cruel proſpect of triumphant freedom. Nor did the confederates, on their part, appear to have calculated much on a permanent peace. Symptoms of jealouſy and miſtruſt were continually breaking out. But theſe were more particularly viſible in the behaviour of the foreſt cantons, and moſt of all in that of the Schweitzers. The near approach of Coucy had for a while ſuſpended all animoſities. Yet no ſooner

was

was the ſtorm blown over, than the current once more reſumed it's wonted courſe.

It has ever been the policy of Auſtria to throw the whole burden of a war upon the ſhoulders of her allies. During the late invaſion, Leopold had ſhewn himſelf a perfect adept in this artful ſyſtem. Secure within the walls of Briſſac, he beheld the efforts of the Swiſs with admiration, he contemplated their loſſes with complacency. His conduct too, during the ſiege of Burgdorf, was at beſt ſuſpicious. For though he took no open and decided part in the conteſt, he ſtill allowed his ſubjects to act in a manner which was not only an infringement of exiſting treaties, but a direct violation of his own ſpecific promiſe. And ſo ſtrong was the impreſſion excited by this ſhameful and ungenerous duplicity, that nothing but the prudent and continual exertions of their leading men could have deterred the cantons from an immediate declaration of war.

The new and exorbitant tolls, which had been recently impoſed at the Auſtrian frontier, to the real detriment of Helvetic commerce, proved a freſh and very valid cauſe of diſcontent.

About this time ſeveral of the imperial cities of Germany had entered into a league for their mutual

tual defence, not only againſt thoſe numerous bands of banditti, which infeſted Europe towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century, but againſt perſons of more diſtinguiſhed rank, who had been induced, by the confuſion of the times, to embrace the ſame licentious courſe of life. Unwilling, however, to admit a principle, which was ſo highly degrading to their own order, the nobility affected to attribute ſuch neceſſary precautions to a different motive, and accuſing the cities of ſeditious views, they publiſhed their intentions of ſupporting their juſt prerogatives by force of arms.* This general ſpirit of diſcontent contributed eſſentially to widen the breach between the duke of Auſtria and the confederates, as both ſides flattered themſelves, in caſe of a rupture, to be ſupported by a numerous and powerful party.

The moment appeared favorable to renew his pretenſions; and Leopold, in conſequence, having previouſly concerted meaſures with the count of Wirtemburg, declared himſelf the head of the ariſtocratic league. The Swiſs, on their part, thought it high time to provide againſt the approaching ſtorm, as in the preſent ſtate of things it was hardly poſſible to avoid a rupture. With this

* This union gave riſe to ſome celebrated orders of knighthood, particularly to that of the *Lions*, and of *St. George*.

view, Berne, Zuric, Soleure, and Zug, concluded a defenſive alliance with the united cities of Germany, which to the number of fifty-one had formed an aſſociation for their mutual ſecurity.*

A confederacy like this was too repugnant to the ambitious deſigns of Auſtria, to be beheld with an eye of indifference. But as an open declaration of hoſtilities againſt ſo formidable a body, could ſerve no other purpoſe but to rivet more cloſely the links by which it was connected, Leopold reſolved to combat it with other weapons; and for that purpoſe he took occaſion, in his way to Vienna, to pay an unexpected viſit to Zuric, in hopes of being able, by artful management, to ſeparate that leading ſtate from the general confederacy. During his reſidence there, he received deputies from Schweitz and Lucerne, to remonſtrate againſt the new tolls which had been im-

* The union conſiſted of the following cities: Mentz, Straſbourg, Worms, Spires, Francfort, Hagenau, Weiſſenberg, Wetzlar, Schletſtat, Achenheim, Friburg, Paderſheim, Selta, Ratiſbon, Bâle, Nuremberg, Augſburg, Ulm, Conſtance, Etlingen, Reutlingen, Rotweil, Weil, Uberlingen, Memmingen, Biberach, Ravenſburg, Lindau, St. Gall, Kempten, Kaufbeuern, Leutkirch, Yſny, Wangen, Buchhorn, Munden, Hall, Heilbrun, Wimpfen, Nordlingen, Dunkelſbuhel, Rottenberg, Windheim, Wyſſenburg, Weinſberg, Aalen, Bopfingen, Geingen, Wyl, Pfullendorff, and Buchau.

poſed

poſed both at the bridge of Rapperſwyl and at Rottenberg. Ever ſtudious to ſow the ſeeds of diſſention among the Swiſs, the duke thought, that by a decided partiality for one party, he might give juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion to the other. He accordingly treated their application in a very different manner. To the Schweitzers he was all benignity and condeſcenſion: their petition was granted "in conſideration," as he himſelf expreſſed it, "of his ſatisfaction with their conduct in "not having joined the league." But his treatment of the Lucerners was haughty and harſh. No arguments could avail them; no redreſs was to be obtained.

Finding, however, that the Helvetic ſtates were too firmly united for his artifices to ſucceed, and wiſhing to ſecure himſelf againſt any ſudden movement on the part of Switzerland, while the Germanic bond continued in force, he propoſed to the cantons a perpetual truce. But the offer was of ſo ſuſpicious a nature, that even thoſe ſtates, which had taken no active part in the league of the Germanic cities, rejected it without heſitation.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, the ſmalleſt ſpark was ſufficient to kindle a flame. During the annual fair at Rapperſwyl, a rumor ſuddenly prevailed that a detachment was advancing from

Zuric, to ſurprize the town. The foundation of this report was never clearly aſcertained, but it's effect was inſtantaneous and deciſive. The townſmen ran tumultuouſly to arms, exclaimed againſt the treachery of the Zurickers, and laid violent hands upon every inhabitant of that city who unfortunately fell in their way. Numbers of reſpectable people were thus expoſed to the ſevereſt inſults, who had attended the fair, as uſual, from commercial motives alone. Having obliged their ſuppoſed enemies to ſave themſelves by flight, they ſallied forth in ſearch of the hoſtile troops. But none were to be found. This however, in the judgment of prejudice, was no proof of innocence: it demonſtrated the vigilance of the foe, but was no argument that the accuſation was groundleſs. The eſcape too was conſidered as a ſignal inſtance of divine protection, and public thankſgivings were in conſequence offered to the preſiding ſaint, in acknowledgment of this important favor.

This event, though unimportant in itſelf, was an additional teſtimony that the actual ceſſation of hoſtilities was the effect of neceſſity, and not of inclination. The ſyſtem of forbearance, which he had lately purſued, was by no means natural to the character of Leopold; but it was ſtrongly enforced by every principle of prudence. Exhauſted by

by the burdens of former wars, his ſubjects gave evident marks of their diſlike to renew the conteſt. Beſides, the rigorous meaſures purſued by the houſe of Auſtria, in the adminiſtration of it's provinces, when contraſted with the mild and happy conſtitution of republican Helvetia, did not inſpire any violent predilection in favor of an arbitrary government. There is a tide too in human affairs, which hurries away the mind of man with a degree of preternatural impulſe, which he is equally unable either to explain or to reſiſt. And at this time the current ran ſtrongly in favor of popular eſtabliſhments; at leaſt this was the caſe in Switzerland.

Finding that all their remonſtrances were ineffectual, and that the tolls continued to be levied with unabated rigor, the Lucerners ran to arms in a tumultuous manner, without waiting for the expiration of the truce. Their march was directed againſt Rottenberg, where they arrived at a time when the greateſt part of the inhabitants were celebrating a religious feſtival at ſome diſtance from the town. In a moment the caſtle was aſſailed, the walls deſtroyed, and every veſtige of fortification effaced. It does not appear, however, that the council of ſtate had the ſmalleſt intimation of what was going forward, till they heard of the ſucceſs of the expedition.

Not content with refuſing ſatisfaction for this daring outrage, the Lucerners continued to brave the power of Auſtria by repeated acts of hoſtility. Predatory incurſions were daily made upon the adjacent territory; while, in expreſs contradiction to the late convention, they admitted the inhabitants of Entlibuch to the rights of burgherſhip, though dependant upon the houſe of Auſtria.

1386. No ſooner was it known to the other foreſt cantons, that the ſword was actually unſheathed, than their reſpective banners were unfurled, and ſeveral caſtles deſtroyed,* before any effectual ſuccor could be ſent to their relief.

Leopold was at this time ſo fully occupied with the affairs of Germany, that he was as yet unable to reſent the inſult which had been offered to his pride. He was not, however, wholly inattentive to what was paſſing, but was endeavoring, by his popular conduct, to ingratiate himſelf with the ariſtocratic party, that he might employ it hereafter as beſt ſuited his purpoſe. And he ſo far ſucceeded in his endeavors, that at his inſtigation the confederate nobles, to the number of three hundred, diſpatched their heralds to the united cantons with declarations of war. Theſe notices

* Rheinach, Baldeak, Wollhauſen, and Wagenthal.

were

were delivered in a general aſſembly of the confederates; and in order that the impreſſion might be ſtronger, it was managed for the meſſengers to arrive in regular ſucceſſion; ſo that one defiance was ſcarcely received, when another was ready to be delivered.

Meanwhile the Auſtrian governor aſſembled in haſte a ſmall body of thirteen hundred men, by way of ſecurity againſt any ſudden attack. But finding that nothing was attempted by the enemy, he reſolved no longer to confine himſelf to defenſive meaſures: and having entered into a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants of Meyenberg, he, with their concurrence, drew a party of the garriſon, which conſiſted of volunteers from Zug and Lucerne, into an ambuſcade, where the greater part of them were cut in pieces. The reſt of the citizens, who were attached to a republican form of government, were ſo alarmed at this act of treachery on the part of their countrymen, that not knowing in whom to confide, they abandoned the town in a body, having firſt ſet it on fire.

The town of Reichenſee was ſoon after taken by ſtorm, and moſt of the burghers put to the ſword.

No ſooner had Leopold accommodated all differences with the imperial cities, than he prepared for the invaſion of Switzerland. His meaſures were now too public to leave a doubt of his intentions. The Swiſs, therefore, determined to take advantage of the moment, and to annoy the enemy by predatory attacks, before any conſiderable force was collected. During theſe repeated incurſions many caſtles were deſtroyed, and many towns and villages ſacked. In the atchievement of theſe exploits the confederates diſplayed their wonted courage. No difficulties impeded their progreſs; no dangers appalled their courage. To them nothing appeared too arduous for valor to accompliſh; and the preſentiment of ſucceſs rendered every thing poſſible.

But in the midſt of this brilliant career, they were alarmed with the intelligence, that Leopold was advancing at the head of a mighty force. No period in the Helvetic annals was more critical than the preſent. A great and alarming change had taken place in the politics of Switzerland. Progreſſive improvements had, as uſual, been accompanied with progreſſive corruption; and in ſpite of all the laviſh encomiums of partial and national pens, it requires no great degree of penetration to diſcover, in the conduct of the different cantons upon this trying occaſion, that intereſted

ſpirit

ſpirit of calculation which forms ſo eſſential a feature in the Helvetic character. The canton of Berne had been ſummoned, upon the firſt proſpect of a rupture, to join the common ſtandard: but under pretence that the truce was not yet expired, the call of honor was for once unnoticed.

Let us be juſt in the inferences we draw. The unſhaken magnanimity diſplayed by the Helvetic people in the hour of peril, will command the admiration of poſterity, ſo long as an aſylum is left for civil liberty upon the ſurface of the globe. But while we ſympathize with the ſtruggles of independance, we cannot ſhut our eyes to thoſe defects which tarniſh the virtues of the Swiſs, and occaſionally degrade the moſt heroic valor by rendering it an object of commercial ſpeculation. Her abſence from the battle of Sempach is an indelible blot in the annals of Berne; it is a ſtain which national vanity may wiſh to conceal, but which no powers of rhetoric can ever palliate.

Leopold, having aſſembled a council of war at Baden, which place he had fixed upon for the rendezvous of his army, propoſed the following plan. That a body of troops, under the command of John de Bonſtetten, ſhould occupy a ſtrong poſition at Bruck, in the Argau; where, ſecure himſelf from the poſſibility of an attack, he might alarm

alarm the city of Zuric, and prevent the garriſon from marching to the aid of the confederates. Meanwhile at the head of his numerous cavalry, he would himſelf advance againſt Sempach and Rottenberg; and after taking both theſe towns, would lay ſiege to Lucerne, which was with juſtice regarded as the key to the foreſt cantons.

As in all former wars Zuric had been the principal object, againſt which the vengeance of Auſtria was directed, the firſt idea of the confederates was to concenter their forces in the vicinity of that city, as the moſt probable point of attack. But no ſooner were they informed of the plan which the enemy had adopted, than they penetrated their real deſign, and immediately had recourſe to other meaſures. Having in conſequence drawn away the greater part of the garriſon from Zuric to join the main army, they flew with their wonted alacrity to meet the Auſtrians under the walls of Sempach.

From the inaccuracy of the German writers, we are left in our uſual ſtate of ſuſpenſe with reſpect to the force of the ariſtocratic army. Nothing however can be clearer, than that it was greatly ſuperior, both in number and diſcipline, to the Swiſs; and that it conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, which in thoſe days of military unſkilfulneſs

neſs conſtituted the chief dependance of European armies. The ſpirit of animoſity with which they were actuated, was evident from the wanton cruelties which they committed during their march.*

It was on the ninth of July that Leopold appeared before Sempach. The harveſt was nearly ripe: and the duke, in order to diſtreſs the Swiſs, while he procured ſupplies for his own troops, employed the infantry in cutting the corn, while the cavalry approached to the very gates of the town, and with inſulting mockery commanded the burghers, who appeared upon the walls, to carry a breakfaſt to the reapers. "Our friends are "bringing it," replied the citizens, with a reſolution predictive of the melancholy iſſue.

Scarce was this anſwer given, when the Helvetic banners were diſplayed on the adjacent heights. The troops, which had been hitherto concealed behind a wood, moved forward with a firm and undaunted ſtep, undiſmayed by the ſuperiority of the foe.

* This was carried ſo far that they are ſaid to have been attended by a waggon laden with halters, which were to be employed in hanging the inhabitants of Sempach.

Leopold

Leopold has been repreſented, by the partial pen of flattery, as a prince diſtinguiſhed for his military ſkill; yet his conduct upon this memorable occaſion betrays rather the blind preſumption of ignorance than martial talents, or a mind informed by the ſtudy of war. It is well known that in thoſe days the ſtrength of an army conſiſted almoſt entirely in cavalry. The men at arms were irreſiſtible, when the nature of the country permitted them to act in a compact body. Yet apparently without cauſe, did he forego every advantage to be derived from a numerous horſe, by ordering them to diſmount, and to receive on foot the ſhock of the Helvetic infantry, which according to the beſt authorities amounted to little more than thirteen hundred men.* Four hundred of theſe were furniſhed by the canton of Lucerne, and three hundred each by Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden. To theſe were added

* Some writers pretend that Leopold was induced to commit this fatal error from a romantic idea of glory. Confident of ſucceſs, he thought his triumph would be imperfect, if he owed it to the ſuperiority of his arms. This is indeed excuſing one fault by another equally reprehenſible. Beſides, the ſame ſpirit of enthuſiaſtic folly would have prevented him from marching againſt the Swiſs at the head of an army more numerous than theirs. We are ready to make every allowance for the characteriſtic weakneſſes of the age, but an act like this would exceed the bounds of human imbecility.

ſome

ſome volunteers from Zug, Glaris, and Entlibuch, who joined the confederates on their march. Of this ſmall body, few had any defenſive weapons, while the enemy were caſed in coats of mail, and condenſed in a firm and ſolid phalanx.

There is ſomething ſo ſingularly impolitic in the whole order of battle which Leopold adopted, that were it not atteſted upon the faith of authors whoſe authority is ſacred, we could ſcarce prevail upon ourſelves to believe it within the compaſs of human error. After having thrown away the incalculable advantage ariſing from the ſuperior ſkill of his cavalry, which was compoſed of the flower of the Auſtrian troops, he, with an army four times more numerous than that with which he was to engage, waited patiently for the attack, and by his apparent irreſolution gave confidence to the foe. "The Auſtrians," ſaid the Swiſs to each other as they advanced to the charge, "have repeatedly tried our ſtrength, and dread "the havoc of our halberds." This ſuggeſtion baniſhed every idea of fear. Their countenance was firm, their march was rapid. Struck with amazement at ſo unexpected a ſight, the moſt prudent of the Auſtrian leaders adviſed the duke to poſtpone any deciſive engagement till he ſhould be joined by the detachment under Bonſtellen. Prudence, however, was not in thoſe days the lot of princes;

princes; they diſdained the leſſons of experience: even the defeat of Morgarten was forgotten. Beſides, this ſage advice was derided by the young nobility, who ſcorned to excel their prince in judgment, and had fully perſuaded themſelves that the hour was now arrived, when Heaven had delivered up a rebellious and incorrigible people to a juſt and ſpeedy chaſtiſement.

There were not, however, wanting men who looked forward with apprehenſion to the iſſue of the day. John of Haſenburg, an old and experienced warrior, had too often witneſſed the prodigies of Helvetic valor to give way to the flattering illuſion; and after having vainly urged the expediency of declining a battle, till joined by their detached parties, he endeavoured, with no better ſucceſs, to prevail upon the duke to put himſelf at leaſt in a place of ſafety. A young nobleman, who was preſent, obſerved with a ſarcaſtic ſmile, that it was not ſurpriſing that Haſenburg* ſhould have a *hare's heart.*

The ſignal was at length given. The confederates, as was uſual with them in ſuch ſituations, having recommended their cauſe to the God of juſtice, ruſhed impetuouſly to the charge, while

* *Haſen* in German ſignifies a *hare.*

the

the foe, with protracted ſpears waited the ſhock. So long as the hoſtile line remained unbroken no hope was left them. To penetrate this was the great object of their endeavors; and in repeated, but ineffectual efforts, much of their beſt blood was ſpilt. Sixty of their braveſt warriors had already fallen, and the Auſtrian phalanx was ſtill entire.

In this exigency, ANTHONY DE PORTE, a Milaneſe by birth, but who had been induced by the love of liberty to ſettle in the vale of Uri, cried out to his countrymen, "Strike the ſpears of the "enemy with all your might! they are hollow, "and will be eaſily broken!" By his own example he encouraged them to the attack. But the ſhattered ſpears were inſtantly replaced, while the hero himſelf fell a victim to his noble ardor.

But there was a man in the ranks of Helvetia, who was deſtined to ſhew what human fortitude can effect, when animated with the pure ſpirit of patriotiſm, and unreſtrained by the dread of death. ARNOLD OF WINKELRIED, a knight of Unterwalden, had been diſtinguiſhed by a contempt of danger from his earlieſt youth. In the claſſic pages of Rome he had contemplated with enthuſiaſm the magnanimity of her earlieſt chiefs. The example of the Fabii was ever before his eyes. A

fate,

fate, like theirs, was to him immortality! and daſtardly did he deem the ſoul, which could prefer ignoble life to ſuch a deſtiny. The moment was now arrived, when he had an opportunity of realiſing all his romantic notions of virtue. He was himſelf in the ſituation of the admired Roman, and could enſure the independance of Helvetia by the ſacrifice of an individual life. To a mind exalted like his, it was indeed a day of triumph. He looked forward to the admiration of poſterity. He beheld himſelf, with anticipated rapture, the choſen theme of the recording muſe. "To my country I recommend my children," exclaimed the enthuſiaſtic hero, "they will ſoon "have no other father to protect them!" And graſping the concentered ſpears of the enemy in both his arms, he ruſhed undaunted on the points, and crying to his aſtoniſhed countrymen "THE "RANKS ARE BROKEN!" expired.

This action was deciſive. The Swiſs preſſed forward in a compact column, and having penetrated the iron wall, made a dreadful ſlaughter among the knights, whoſe heavy armour, and long ſpears, were little calculated for cloſe fight. A writer of reputation, in deſcribing this memorable engagement, expreſſes himſelf in the following words: "The heads of many of the Auſtrian "nobles were cleft aſunder; others were knocked "down

"down with heavy clubs, while numbers, ſinking "under the weight of their armour, and the heat "of the day, were unable to riſe again."

In this ſtate of deſperation, when every thing was given up for loſt, the general attention was directed to the ſafety of Leopold. In vain did his ſurviving friends repreſent to him the neceſſity of ſaving himſelf by flight. He was deaf to their remonſtrances. He rejected their entreaties with diſdain. "I ſhould deem myſelf unworthy," replied he with noble enthuſiaſm, "to have led ſuch "gallant men to battle, could I reſolve to ſeparate "my fate from their's." With theſe words, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the fight, and met the deſtiny he courted.

In the mean time, the count of Zollern, and Hans of Oberkirk, who commanded the reſerve; ſeeing that the fortune of the day was irretrievable, betook themſelves to flight. The diſorder from that time became univerſal. Perſonal ſecurity was the only object of conſideration: even the very grooms and pages, who had been entruſted by the knights with the care of their horſes, regardleſs of their maſter's ſafety, fled in the general confuſion. So that the whole body of nobles would in all probability have been cut

in pieces, had not the victors been reſtrained, by the love of plunder, from continuing the purſuit.

Notwithſtanding, however, their propenſity to a paſſion, which has been at all times fatal to the glory of Helvetia, fifteen ſtandards fell into the hands of the conquerors, whoſe loſs was comparatively ſmall, as it did not exceed two hundred men: and of theſe the greater part ſtill lived in the hearts of their countrymen, ſo long as virtue was the object of Helvetic admiration. Among the ſlain we find the names of Peterman of Goldeltingen, avoyer of Lucerne; Conrad, landman of Uri; Siegriſt of Tiſſelbach, landman of Unterwalden, and Arnold of Winkelried. Various are the deeds of heroiſm aſcribed, by the ancient writers, to theſe gallant worthies, and of which we ſtill read with pleaſure in thoſe national ballads which inſpired the love of freedom to their lateſt poſterity. An anecdote, however, is recorded of Goldeltingen, which merits particular attention. As he was expiring of his wounds, a friend, who ſaw his danger, ran to his aſſiſtance, and finding him in the agonies of death, inquired with tender ſolicitude if he had any family arrangements to make, while he yet was in a ſituation to do it. "Tell "my countrymen," replied the expiring hero, "that Goldeltingen, with his lateſt breath, con-

"jures

"jures them never to continue an avoyer in office "for a longer term than one year. It is the advice "of a dying man, who loves his country, and who "falls contented in having diſcharged his duty."

On the ſide of Auſtria about two thouſand periſhed; among whom were included many perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, and ſome of the moſt illuſtrious families in Germany. The day after the battle, the body of Leopold was found upon the field, amidſt heaps of carcaſes. It was no ſooner diſcovered, than it received every honorable diſtinction which was due to his exalted rank, and was buried with becoming pomp at Konigsfelden, together with twenty-ſix of his officers. The remainder were thrown promiſcuouſly into a common grave, with the ſlaughtered ſons of Helvetia, and a chapel was ſhortly after erected upon the ſpot, as a monument of Helvetic virtue.

This was indeed a ſevere blow to the houſe of Auſtria, and raiſed the reputation of the republican arms to ſuch a height, that nothing was thought too arduous for Helvetic valor to atchieve. Yet notwithſtanding all their loſſes, the nobles of the Auſtrian faction were too ſeverely wounded in the tendereſt part to ſit down contented with the degrading reflection of being the victims of their own imprudence.

Leopold left four ſons—William, Leopold, Erneſt, and Frederic. Upon the death of their father, a ſhort truce took place, upon principles of mutual convenience. But this was no ſooner expired, than the eldeſt of theſe princes was conducted to Baden, by his uncle Albert, and preſented to an aſſembly of the nobles as head of their party. A deſultory war was immediately commenced againſt the confederates, and carried on for ſome months with various ſucceſs. Animated by the preſence, and encouraged by the promiſes of Albert, confidence began once more to take the place of deſpondency, while preparations for the renewal of hoſtilities were every where carried on with activity and vigor. The Swiſs, on their part, were not inattentive, but did every thing which prudence and good ſenſe could dictate, to derive the greateſt advantage from their recent triumph.

The conduct of Berne, during the late memorable ſtruggle, has been defended by her leading men upon principles of apparent plauſibility. The exhauſted ſtate of the public treaſury would, in moſt ſituations, have been a reaſonable plea for perſevering in pacific meaſures, and might have juſtified the government for refuſing to take an active part in the war, ſo long as their immediate neighbors preſerved a perfect neutrality. But in

in the actual ſtate of affairs, the exiſtence of Switzerland, as an independent ſtate, was the grand object of contention, and to the attainment of this important point every meaner conſideration was to be ſacrificed. The Berners, however, notwithſtanding the cautious ſyſtem which they had adopted, were not ſo neglectful of their real intereſts as to be unprepared for war; on the contrary, they were ready to take the field upon the ſhorteſt notice, whenever tempted by the proſpect of any valuable acquiſition.

The occaſion was not long wanting. The counteſs of Vallandis, encouraged by the flattering promiſes of the houſe of Auſtria, broke her alliance with Berne, and refuſed at the ſame time the repayment of a conſiderable ſum of money, which had been advanced to her, by the republic, in a moment of urgent diſtreſs. The temper of the Berners was by no means calculated to permit ſo flagrant a breach of common honeſty to paſs with impunity. An armed force immediately entered the territoy of the counteſs, deſtroying* every thing before them with fire and the ſword.

* In a ſhort time they razed the caſtle of Haſenburg, burnt the town of Williſau, and took Thorberg and Koppingen, both places of ſtrength, belonging to the count of Thorberg.

Meanwhile the Friburghers, who had long been preparing in ſecret to revenge themſelves upon the Berners for all the injuries they had ſuffered ſince the firſt commencement of the war with Auſtria, aſſembled a mercenary force, and advanced in the night under the very walls of Berne, hoping by one deciſive blow to recover the reputation of their arms. But the reception they met with was ſo warm and unexpected, that they were happy to ſave themſelves by a haſty retreat. The Berners, in return for this perfidious attempt, made predatory incurſions upon various parts of the enemy's domain. The caſtles of Dachsfeld, Caſtel, Maggenberg, and Shonenfels, were ſucceſſively taken and deſtroyed. The town of Unterſeen, a feud of the houſe of Brandis, yielded likewiſe to their triumphant arms, and was ſpared only upon condition that the inhabitants ſhould ſwear allegiance to the victorious republic, and do homage to them accordingly. Plaffey alſo, with the upper part of the vale of Siben, threw themſelves under the protection of the Berners, whoſe mild juriſdiction they very wiſely preferred to the rigorous government of William of Dudingen, a patrician of Friburg, their former lord.

Upon the recommencement of hoſtilities, all the efforts of the confederates were directed againſt the

the adjacent barons, in the hope of weakening them by partial attacks, before any formidable force could be aſſembled. Conformably to this plan, the Lucerners, by a ſudden movement, got poſſeſſion of Hohen-Rheinach, while the Zurickers took the caſtles of Merſburg and Sultz, which they immediately razed.

In the midſt of theſe ſucceſsful enterprizes, an event took place which directed their operations to a different quarter. The town of Weſen, in the Gaſter, had been long an object of jealouſy to Glaris. It's contiguous ſituation was particularly favorable for any deſultory attack on the part of Auſtria, as during the ſeverity of winter, the Glarners were cut off from all communication with their allies, and even in the ſummer months might be conſiderably annoyed, before any effectual ſuccor could arrive from the neighboring cantons; as at that ſeaſon of the year, the martial youth were for the moſt part abſent from their native homes, engaged on the higher mountains in the occupations of a paſtoral life. By ſome accident the garriſon of Weſen had been left in a neglected ſtate; and no ſooner were the Glarners informed of this circumſtance, than they perceived the poſſibility of rendering themſelves maſters of the town, before an Auſtrian army could march to it's relief. For this purpoſe, they diſ-

patched meſſengers to their allies to communicate the intended project, and to concert meaſures for it's execution. The propoſal was no ſooner made, this it was embraced with that enthuſiaſtic ardor, which diſtinguiſhed the character of the Swiſs, at that glorious period of their hiſtory. An armament was aſſembled upon the ſhores of the lake of Wallenſtadt; which partly in boats, and partly upon rafts, proceeded againſt the town, which was ſituated at the northern extremity of this little, but romantic lake. The ſuburbs, that extended to the very ſurface of the water, were not only open and expoſed, but built almoſt entirely of wood; which, on account of the abundance of that material, even in theſe days of architectural improvement, is almoſt univerſally the caſe in the mountainous parts of Switzerland. Upon their arrival before the town, the confederates finding that the burghers were taking meaſures to defend themſelves, threatened to ſet fire to the ſuburbs, unleſs the gates were immediately opened, and actually began to land a large quantity of combuſtible matter, which they had brought with them for that purpoſe. This was a ſpecies of warfare for which the citizens were by no means prepared, and againſt which all their efforts would have proved ineffectual. They in conſequence came to a parley, without further delay, and were allowed to capitulate upon honorable terms. The principal

cipal articles were, that they ſhould henceforth renounce their allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria, acknowledge themſelves ſubject to the cantons of Zuric, Uri, Schweitz, and Glaris, and receive a garriſon of their troops in token of ſubmiſſion.

It would be a waſte of time, circumſtantially to enumerate all the enterprizes of this deſcription, in which the confederates were ſucceſſively engaged; and which uſually terminated in the capture of ſome inſulated fortreſs, or in the defeat of a detached party. Events of a ſimilar nature afford but little intereſt at this diſtance of time.

Hitherto we have had reaſon, upon all occaſions, to ſpeak of the moderation and humanity of the confederates in terms of merited applauſe. The taſk of the hiſtorian would be irkſome indeed, were it not relieved at intervals by acts of clemency. Too often it is his lot to paint the vices and follies of his fellow-creatures! For follies and vices, alas! compoſe the far greater part of that afflicting ſcene in which it is our deſtiny to move. It is not in the poliſhed court, in the buſy city, or among the ſpeculating ſons of commerce, that we muſt look for that innocent ſimplicity, which forms the moſt beautiful feature in the motley character of man. PROSPERITY IS THE BANE OF VIRTUE. This is indeed a melancholy and

and humiliating truth. But we muſt either ſhut our eyes againſt the light of conviction, or muſt confeſs it to be eſtabliſhed by the evidence of facts and experience. Even in the hiſtory of Switzerland, a country ſegregated, by the partiality of nature, from the corruption of poliſhed manners, we may already diſcover ſtrong and evident ſymptoms of this degradation of moral character. Nor is it without ineffable concern that we behold a people, who have repeated, and reſiſtleſs claims to our admiration, hurried away by the current of fortune; and after the conqueſt of Ariſtaw, a ſtrong place upon the Reuſs, in all the wantonneſs of cruelty hurling the defenceleſs garriſon from the walls. An action like this might be expected from the ſavage ferocity of a Ruſſian; but it is a ſtain we could wiſh to efface from the annals of liberty,

CHAPTER XI.

Weſen ſurprized—Battle of Næfels—Siege of Rapperſwyl—Truce with Auſtria—General View of the Confederacy.

A. D. 1387.

THE rapid progreſs, which the confederates were daily making, had ſpread ſo general an alarm, that the Auſtrian party was eaſily prevailed upon, by the mediation of the imperial cities, to agree to a truce, during the whole of the enſuing year. But in this agitated ſtate of the paſſions, it was far eaſier to regulate the conditions of an armiſtice, than to enſure the obſervance of them. And indeed ſuch was the want of fidelity in the performance of their engagements on the part of the nobles, that this treaty is ſtigmatized, by the Swiſs hiſtorians, with the appellation of the *faithleſs truce.* ×

From the conduct of the Auſtrians it was manifeſt, that, in conſenting to a ſuſpenſion of arms, they had no other view, but to throw their ad-

× Priests and nobles are the verſaries ſame in every country and in every age.

verſaries off their guard, and to gain a temporary reſpite from the calamities of war, that they might prepare for the recommencement of it with renovated vigor.

All the efforts of the Glarners to reconcile the inhabitants of Weſen to the new form of government, which had been eſtabliſhed ſince their ſeparation from the houſe of Auſtria, had proved ineffectual. On the contrary, they preferred the rigorous ſyſtem which was adopted by the deſcendants of Rodolphus, to the mild and equitable juriſdiction of their new maſters. Yet ſtrange as this conduct may appear upon a curſory view, it is eaſily explained upon principles the moſt analogous to the nature of man. A ſpirit of animoſity is always obſerved to prevail with greateſt violence between thoſe who are the neareſt neighbors, and who conſequently have the greateſt intereſt in living upon terms of amity with each other. Nor is any ſuperiority acknowledged with ſuch reluctance, as that of perſons, whom from their ſituation in life we have been tempted to conſider as our equals. Far be it from us to undertake to juſtify ſuch conduct upon principles of reaſon; for that is a teſt, which the actions of men will rarely bear. Wiſdom and virtue are uncommon qualities, and but ſeldom met with in any eminent degree; while acts of imprudence and incon-

inconſiſtency fill every page of hiſtory, and ſtare us hourly in the face, in our habitual intercourſe with the world.

Conſcious that little could be expected from open reſiſtance, the Auſtrian faction, which comprehended the majority of the inhabitants of Weſen, had recourſe to treachery, that conſtant reſource of timid and contracted minds. Having entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the governor of Windeck, and other adherents of the houſe of Auſtria, they profeſſed themſelves ready to undertake any enterprize, however deſperate, for the re-eſtabliſhment of their former government, provided they were aſſured of the protection and countenance of the duke. The anſwer, they received, was ſuch as might be expected, and preparations were accordingly made by both parties to ſeize upon the town.

The Glarners, though apprized of what was in agitation, beheld the armament, which was collecting upon their frontier, with indifference; not in the leaſt ſuſpecting, that they were themſelves the objects againſt whom it was deſtined. Meanwhile the diſaffected party continued indefatigable in their exertions. Auſtrian ſoldiers were introduced into the town under various diſguiſes, and concealed in places the moſt remote from ſuſpicion.

The

The vigilance of the magiſtrates was, however, at length rouſed. From the continual movement they obſerved, as well as from an air of myſtery which prevailed among a certain deſcription of people, whoſe diſſatisfaction with the new order of things was notorious, they were led to ſuſpect that ſomething was in agitation; and felt that more than common precautions were requiſite. Upon this, Conrad of Au, a diſtinguiſhed citizen of Uri, who at that time commanded the garriſon, applied for a reinforcement; while by the prudence of his conduct, and the popularity of his manners, he endeavored to confirm the citizens in their allegiance. The Glarners, though by no means ſatisfied that his apprehenſions had any foundation in truth, were nevertheleſs prevailed upon, by reiterated applications, to ſend a detachment of fifty men. Upon the arrival of this little force, Conrad, now thinking himſelf ſecure againſt a ſurprize, called together the inhabitants, and acquainted them, that he had received certain intelligence that the Auſtrian forces were aſſembling in the neighborhood; nor could he any longer doubt that their intentions were hoſtile. That in conſequence of this information he had deemed it prudent to augment the guard at every gate; and concluded by recommending to them, not only to be watchful over their own behavior, but to hold themſelves in readineſs to fly to the defence of their

their walls, upon the ſlighteſt alarm; adding, that for his own part, he entertained no apprehenſions whatever, as a large body of the confederates were upon the point of marching to his aid.

This communication produced very different effects upon the minds of the auditors. The common people, who were ignorant of the conſpiracy, were terrified at the near proſpect of danger; and what is not uncommon in ſuch ſituations, very probably added to the general confuſion, by the means they employed to prevent it. The male-contents, on the contrary, were delighted with the confidence of the commander, and flattered themſelves that they ſhould experience little difficulty in circumventing a man, who appeared lulled in that dangerous ſecurity, which is ſo frequently the prelude and cauſe of ruin. They felt too, that if the expected reinforcement was delayed by any accident, the important blow would be ſtruck before it came.

In this ſituation things remained till the twenty-third of February; the night appointed for the attack. And ſo well had the conſpirators concerted meaſures, that parties came pouring in from Tockenburg, Rapperſwyl, Sargans, Kyburg, and the Gaſter, which when aſſembled before the walls amounted to ſix thouſand men, without any unuſual

unuſual alarm being ſpread. When the ſignal was given, the ſentinels were ſurprized at their poſts, the gates opened, the bridges lowered. No ſooner were the troops admitted, than they proceeded, in ſmall bodies to the houſes of the principal magiſtrates of the oppoſite faction; ſeveral of whom, together with Conrad of Au, they butchered in their ſleep. Others ſaved themſelves from the ſword of aſſaſſination, by eſcaping precipitately over the walls, and traverſing the lake in ſuch veſſels as fortune offered to their diſtreſs. Upon their arrival on the oppoſite ſhore, they met a detachment of their countrymen who were marching to the defence of Weſen. Finding, however, that their further progreſs could be attended with no poſſible advantage, ſince they were far too weak to attempt the recovery of the town, they retired to their own frontier; where being ſtrongly entrenched, they confined themſelves to defenſive operations, watching the motions of the enemy with attention, and reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground, ſhould they attempt to force a paſſage into the vale of Glaris.

An act of ſuch unjuſtifiable treachery could not fail to occaſion univerſal conſternation; and as uſual in moments of public calamity, the apprehenſion of ideal evils far exceeded thoſe which were real. Meſſengers were diſpatched, without delay,

delay, to the different cantons, imploring immediate aſſiſtance. In conſequence of which, reinforcements were ſent from Zuric and the foreſt cantons. But as theſe troops, when united, were neither ſufficiently numerous to allow of offenſive meaſures, nor even to afford any real grounds of ſecurity, in caſe of a vigorous attack, the moſt reaſonable counſel, which prudence could ſuggeſt, was an application to the enemy for peace.

This advice, though dictated by a ſpirit of moderation and prudence, and imperiouſly enforced by the preſſing ſituation of affairs, was embraced with reluctance. Deputies were, however, ſent to the counts of Thorberg and Werdenberg, and the other leaders of the Auſtrian army, with propoſals for a treaty. But they were received with diſdain, and diſmiſſed with conditions ſo degrading, that deſpair alone could have accepted them. For ſuch is the ambition and folly of man, that he is frequently induced to throw away the moſt favorable combination of circumſtances, merely becauſe his innate pride will conſider the forbearance of an enemy, in no other light than as an avowal of weakneſs; or judging, perhaps, from the obſtinacy of his own character, he perſuades himſelf that no motive could induce his adverſary to give up the conteſt, except his inability to continue it.

Nothing ſhort of abſolute and unconditional ſubmiſſion would ſatisfy the foe. "Let the Glar-
"ners renounce their alliance with the confede-
"rates. Let them acknowledge themſelves to be
"the vaſſals of Auſtria, and in token of their ſub-
"miſſion lay all their charters at the feet of their
"lawful ſovereign. Let them pay the arrears of
"taxes which are due, and indemnify the allies
"for the expences of the war. Let them reſign
"themſelves with becoming humility, to what-
"ever puniſhment we may inflict upon them, as
"the due chaſtiſement of rebellion, and give hoſ-
"tages for their future allegiance, and we will in
"mercy conſent to ſpare their lives." Such was the reply of the haughty Werdenberg to the meſſengers of peace.

No ſooner were theſe exorbitant demands made public, than indignation ſucceeded to terror. No ſymptoms of deſpondency were any longer viſible. They had taſted the charms of freedom; they had broken the chains of ſervitude, and were prepared to die, rather than bend their necks with voluntary baſeneſs to the ignominious yoke. Still, however, before they ventured upon the unequal conteſt, they publiſhed a manifeſto, by the advice of their allies, declaring their readineſs to admit all the claims of the abbeſs of Seckingen, according to the full extent of feudal dependancy. Nor did

they

they refuſe to the duke of Auſtria, any legal rights, to which he could pretend, in quality of *advocate* of that convent. But with reſpect to their union with the Helvetic confederacy, *that*, they added, was indiſſoluble, and could never terminate except with their lives.

This reſolution, however juſt and honorable it may ſeem, was interpreted by their enemies in a very different ſenſe. For to men who had been taught to believe, that in the duties of a ſubject, there can be no medium between paſſive obedience and open rebellion, the language of reaſon could not but ſound offenſively. All further communication ceaſed. The deſtruction of the rebels was anticipated as inevitable; and over the ruins of Glaris, and the mangled carcaſes of it's factious citizens, the partiſans of ariſtocracy flattered themſelves ſhortly to open a paſſage into the foreſt cantons.

There was a plan which, had it been adopted by the allies, might have led to the expected ſucceſs. But inſtead of haraſſing the Glarners by continual ſkirmiſhes, which muſt in a ſhort time have exhauſted all their little reſources, every thing was once more ſet upon a ſingle caſt. The ſame ſpirit of impatience induced them alſo to aſſemble their forces at Weſen, in a ſeaſon of the

year, when moſt of the paſſes, through which they could penetrate into the enemy's country, were cloſed by ſnow, and conſequently when every circumſtance combined to favor a defenſive war.

With reſpect to the ſtrength of the Auſtrian army, we as uſual meet with very different ſtatements; but the moſt probable accounts make it amount to upwards of eight thouſand men. The principal leaders were John count of Werdenberg, the counts of Toggenburg and Thierſtein. Peter of Thorberg and John of Bonſtetten conducted a ſelect troop, from Thurgau and Argau. Hans de Klingenberg commanded the men of Shaffhauſen, while the Auſtrian banner was committed to the care of Ulric of Sar.

In a council of war it was determined that Werdenberg, with fifteen hundred of his own vaſſals, ſhould penetrate into the vale of Glaris, by the way of Sargans, and fall upon the enemy in the rear; while the main body ſhould march directly to Næfels, where the republicans were entrenched, and force their lines.

As the Swiſs had no fortified towns to which they could retreat, it was their cuſtom, upon the approach of an enemy, to march to the frontier, and there ſelect a poſition the moſt favorable to that

that ſyſtem of warfare, which their peculiar ſituation required. The narrow vale of Næfels was in every reſpect calculated for defenſive operations. It was at once difficult of acceſs, and eaſily guarded by an inferior force. Some entrenchments were in conſequence thrown up, between the foot of the mountain and the river Linth, which would have been impregnable, had the force of the republicans been ſufficient to line them properly; but as yet it conſiſted of little more than two hundred men.

On the evening of the eighth of April, Mäthias Buel, who commanded this handful of men, received certain advice that the following morning was fixed upon for the attack. He immediately diſpatched meſſengers throughout the canton, exhorting the women and children to retire to the mountains, with their cattle and moſt valuable effects, as to a place of ſecurity in caſe of extremities. Other meſſengers were likewiſe ſent into the foreſt cantons, imploring the aſſiſtance of ſuch troops as could be collected upon the ſpur of the moment. The application was attended with ſucceſs, and during the whole night the gallant youth came pouring in, ſo that at the dawn of day, Buel's little army was augmented to three hundred and fifty combatants.

About ſun-riſe, the Auſtrians advanced with their uſual impetuoſity, and their uſual indiſcretion. Buel, who had information that his friends were marching from every quarter to his relief, thought it adviſeable to retreat, that he might allow them time to arrive. With this view he abandoned his lines, and fell back to an advantageous poſt under mount Ruti, which entirely covered his flank. He there ordered the banner to be erected, as a ſignal to his gallant countrymen, who were coming in every moment. No ſooner were the Auſtrians maſters of the entrenchments, than they appear to have conſidered their victory as compleat. Every precaution was now diſregarded as uſeleſs, while ſeparating into ſmall bands, they gave themſelves up to plunder, inſtead of purſuing the foe. Every moment was of importance to the republicans, as their army was hourly gaining freſh ſtrength ~~every moment.~~

In all the celebrated combats, which took place during the courſe of the Helvetic wars, the conduct of the Auſtrians is equally repugnant to the dictates of common prudence, or the rules of art; but in none more ſo, than in the proceedings of this fatal day. After having allowed the enemy full time to collect their ſcattered troops round the ſtandard of liberty, they were at once awakened from their deluſion. Inſtead of a broken and diſheartened

heartened force, they, to their great ſurprize, beheld the hoſtile ranks more full and confident than ever. In haſte they recalled their ſtraggling parties, with a determination to renew the attack. But even then, the diſpoſition they made was equally unſkilful. With their cavalry in front, they now marched againſt a compact corps of infantry, poſted on an eminence, which was difficult of acceſs. Eleven times did this unweildy body return to the charge: eleven times were they driven back with incredible loſs. In a word, the event of this battle was ſimilar to that of Morgarten, and in great meaſure decided by ſimilar means. Volleys of ſtones continued to pour down from the impending cliffs, till after a conteſt of five hours, the affrighted courſers could no longer be brought back to the charge, but ruſhed in confuſion upon the broken infantry. The Swiſs, whoſe numbers had been augmenting during the whole of this bloody fight, by the arrival of freſh troops, no ſooner obſerved the diſorder of the enemy, than they preſſed upon them with redoubled fury. At this critical juncture, a ſmall body of Schweitzers appeared upon the adjacent heights. The Auſtrians, who were already exhauſted by the fatigues of the day, and who beheld with aſtoniſhment their enemies ariſe more numerous and terrible from every attack, were ſtruck with diſmay at the ſight of a freſh army, which threat-

Spectacles of this kind, though highly commendable upon every principle of religious duty, are not without their effect in a political point of view. They keep alive a ſpirit of emulation far better than all the perſonal decorations, which in more modern times are appropriated to thoſe who render any eſſential ſervice to their country. For ſince the latter are not excluſively ſet apart as the rewards of merit, but are ſometimes purchaſed upon leſs honorable terms, they do not always convey to the mind ideas of heroiſm, or of patriotic zeal. But it was impoſſible to be preſent at any ceremony, however rude and artleſs, which was inſtituted to immortalize the worthies of Helvetia, without imbibing ſomething of that generous ardor, which whilom animated their magnanimous boſoms. The tear of delight and extacy would ſparkle in the eye of youth, as he contemplated the joyous ſcene, and looking round with tenderneſs on thoſe whom nature or love had endeared to his heart, he would ſay to himſelf with conſcious dignity, and exulting pride, "I too "have a ſiſter, and miſtreſs to protect! I too have "an arm to defend them!"

Convinced that their brilliant fortune would operate more powerfully in drawing reinforcements to the ſtandard of liberty, than any motives

of

of compaſſion, however forcibly ſuch principles may be ſuppoſed to act upon minds untainted by the calculating ſyſtem of modern politics, the Glarners determined to take advantage of the alarm their victory had occaſioned, and to inflict a ſignal vengeance upon the inhabitants of Weſen, as a puniſhment due to their treachery. With this intent they marched directly thither, but found the town deſerted; for the Auſtrians, who had retreated there as the neareſt place of refuge, were little diſpoſed to renew hoſtilities with an enemy, whoſe proweſs they regarded, and with ſome degree of reaſon, as more than human; nor did they conſider themſelves in ſafety, while within reach of the Helvetic halberds. No ſooner, too, did the burghers ſee themſelves thus cruelly abandoned to their hopeleſs fate, than they packed up in haſte their moſt valuable effects, too happy to eſcape with any thing from the chaſtiſement their perfidy had deſerved; ſo that upon their arrival, the Glarners found nothing to oppoſe them. Giving way, therefore, to the impulſe of reſentment, they ranſacked the houſes at leiſure; and having carried away every thing of value which had been left behind by the natives in the confuſion of a haſty flight, they ſet fire to the town in different quarters, nor left it till it was reduced to aſhes.

Mean-

Meanwhile the Zurickers, who, to the number of ſeven hundred, were actually on their march to the aid of Glaris, no ſooner learnt the defeat of the Auſtrians, and the deſtruction of Weſen, than they thought it unneceſſary to proceed. But unwilling that their preparations ſhould be thrown away, and confident of ſupport from the confederates, who were arming in every quarter, they determined to profit by the occaſion, and to ſtrike a deciſive blow. The town of Rapperſwyl, under every circumſtance of fortune, was the grand object of jealouſy to which the attention of theſe wary republicans was invariably directed. Nor was it poſſible for them to enjoy any real ſecurity, while that important place continued in the hands of an inveterate foe. But as the duke of Auſtria was well aware of the advantage which he could at all times derive from the poſſeſſion of a fortreſs that opened him an eaſy paſſage into the very heart of the enemy's country, he had taken every poſſible precaution to put it in the beſt ſtate of defence. The fortifications had been conſiderably augmented, and were defended by a garriſon of ſeven hundred Italians, who were ſent to Duke Leopold before the battle of Sempach, by Viſconti duke of Milan, whoſe daughter he had married. Theſe too had been lately reinforced by a large body of men, who had fled from Næfels, and thrown themſelves into the town, with the count of

of Thorberg at their head. However, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the enemy, the Zurickers having received conſiderable reinforcements from their allies, and finding that the united force amounted to ſix thouſand men, gallantly reſolved to attempt it's reduction.

For three weeks they laid before the town, employing every engine, which the then imperfect ſcience of attack could furniſh. But finding themſelves repulſed in every quarter, and deſpairing of ſucceeding by regular advances, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to riſk a general aſſault. Thorberg, upon whom the chief command had devolved, being appriſed of their intention, adviſed the citizens to ſurrender. For recent experience had taught him to believe, that there was no enterpriſe, however arduous, to which Helvetic valor was unequal. But the cruel treatment they had experienced from Brun, was ſtill freſh in their memory. Nor was there any hardſhip they were unwilling to encounter, rather than truſt to the promiſes of an enemy, whoſe plighted faith had been ſo lately violated. Without diſtinction therefore of age or ſex, they declared their reſolution of defending themſelves to the laſt extremity, and of periſhing with arms in their hands.

The

The confederates, who on their part were no leſs bent on carrying their point, were indefatigable in their preparations; and it was determined that the town ſhould be attacked, at the ſame time, both by land and water. Hiſtory affords few examples of a ſeverer conflict. For nine hours did they return to the aſſault with unabating fury. The reſiſtance they met with was equally heroic. Feeling that every thing, which can intereſt the heart of man, was now at ſtake, and convinced that nothing could be expected from the clemency of the foe, deſpair gave energy to the citizens. Men, women, children, whoever could hurl a ſtone, or wield a ſpear, now crouded to the ramparts, and courted danger. The ſcaling ladders were ſcarcely applied to the walls, when they were overturned. The boats no ſooner approached, than they were ſunk.

Towards evening, however, the confederates retired to their camp, fatigued and haraſſed with the labors of the day. Every hope of ſucceſs was now annihilated. Their braveſt troops had either fallen in the combat, or were diſabled by their wounds from keeping the field. To continue any longer before the town was expoſing them to unneceſſary danger. Nothing was left but to raiſe the ſiege; and diſgraceful as ſuch a meaſure muſt appear

appear to a people unaccuſtomed to a repulſe, they ſet fire to their tents the following morning, and retired in haſte, leaving behind them the greater part of their military engines.

During the ſiege of Rapperſwyl, a body of men from the Gaſter had made a predatory incurſion upon the territory of Glaris, but they were immediately oppoſed by a troop of peaſants, who, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of numbers, drove them back with the loſs of their banner, and of many men.

Upon the expiration of the truce with Auſtria, the Berners had once more taken the field. Reinforced by a ſtrong party from Soleure, they marched to Buren, one of the towns, which had been aſſigned to Coucy, in conſideration of his mother's portion, but which was ſtill occupied by an Auſtrian garriſon. Being ſuffered to approach too near the walls, they found means to throw ſome combuſtible materials into the town, which inſtantly communicated to the houſes, the greater part of which were built of wood. Alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the flames, the inhabitants made little reſiſtance, while the Berners, taking advantage of the general confuſion, entered by ſtorm, and put the greater part of them to the ſword. Elate with ſucceſs, they ſucceſſively directed

rected their victorious arms againſt ſeveral other towns, which were dependant upon the houſe of Auſtria. Having burnt the ſuburbs of Arau, they proceeded to Nidau; a place which was in the ſame predicament with Buren, and though ceded to Coucy, by the late treaty, was ſtill garriſoned by a mercenary band in the pay of Auſtria. But the finances of this ambitious family were then in ſo low a ſtate, that remittances were ſcarcely ever made to the commanders, who were conſequently reduced to the painful neceſſity of ſuffering their troops to live at free quarters, upon the wretched inhabitants, for whoſe protection they were oſtenſibly ſent.

John of Roſſey, the governor of Nidau, was preciſely in this ſituation. Poſſeſſing little more than a nominal authority over men, who were rendered deſperate by diſtreſs, he had connived at every exceſs in which licentiouſneſs could indulge, and allowed his ſoldiers to lay the adjacent country under contributions, with a degree of rapacity which rendered the unfortunate natives anxious for any change. Not daring to truſt to the fidelity of a people to whom he had given ſuch juſt cauſe of offence, Roſſey ſet fire to the town, upon the approach of the republican army, and retired into the caſtle, which, from it's ſituation, in the midſt of a moraſs, ſeemed capable of a vigorous reſiſtance.

reſiſtance. But nothing could retard the ardor of the gallant Berners. In ſpite of every difficulty they demanded inſtantly to be led to the aſſault, and ſo great was their eagerneſs to advance, that a boat, laden with thirty men, was ſunk, by the intemperate zeal of the ſoldiers. But the natural ſtrength of the fortreſs baffled all their efforts. Yet ſuch were the inſtances of intrepidity by which they were diſtinguiſhed in this unſucceſsful attempt, that the garriſon, conſcious of their own inability to reſiſt another attack, immediately offered to capitulate. The propoſal was readily accepted by the enemy, who had ſuffered conſiderably, and an agreement took place, that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, upon condition that the caſtle was to ſurrender at the expiration of ſix weeks, provided it was not relieved within that ſpace. At the appointed time, it was accordingly given up, when many priſoners of diſtinction, among others the biſhop of Liſbon, and prior of Alcacova, who had been ſeized and plundered by the licentious ſoldiery, were ſet at liberty. The conduct of the victors towards theſe unfortunate perſons, was generous in the extreme. The biſhop and his friend had been captured in their way from Portugal to Rome, and ſtript of all their effects. Their loſſes were now made good by the liberality of their deliverers, ſo that in a ſhort time they found themſelves in a ſituation to continue their jour-

ney, with a retinue ſuitable to the dignity of their ſtation. They, on their part, behaved in a manner no leſs noble. For on their return to Portugal, they not only repaid their benefactors with punctuality, but preſented them with a thouſand ducats towards the expences of the war.

1389. It would be little more than a tedious repetition of former exploits, to deſcribe the burning the ſuburbs of Mellingen, or the baths of Baden, both ſituated upon the banks of the Limmat. A fruitleſs attempt upon Zofingen—a more ſucceſsful one againſt Unterſeen—the capture of Gauenſtein, near Olten—merit not a more minute detail. From thence the victorious republicans advanced with little oppoſition to the very gates of Bruck; while another party penetrated into the valley of Frick, plundered the country for ſeveral leagues, and returned home with an abundant ſpoil.

This continued ſyſtem of warfare, though highly creditable to the military character of the confederates, was not equally advantageous to their internal proſpects. It is true, they frequently enjoyed the ſatisfaction of purſuing the enemy to the very gates of their fortreſſes, or of braving them within their walls. But while the hoſtile provinces were laid waſte with fire and the ſword,

ſword, their own fields remained uncultivated, their own manufacturies ſtood ſtill. For a time, indeed, the pride of conqueſt was alone ſufficient to ſupport the national ſpirit, under every difficulty and diſtreſs. But the high price of proviſions, the neceſſary conſequence of neglected labor, began at length to be ſeriouſly felt. An argument, like this, was upon a level with the moſt common underſtanding. The people became clamorous for peace, while the leading men, alarmed at the proſpect of an approaching dearth, began ſeriouſly to reflect upon the moſt probable means of attaining it.

The Auſtrian princes too, on their part, appeared for once to have been ſincere in their deſire of putting a ſtop to the further effuſion of blood. The loſſes ſuſtained at Sempach and Næfels had deprived them of many of their moſt experienced leaders. Several of the moſt illuſtrious families were become extinct, from their loſſes in the field. Others had ſubmitted to the imperious law of neceſſity, and preſerved their ſtates from impending ruin, by uniting themſelves to the triumphant confederacy, in quality of co-burghers. The count of Toggenburg, one of the moſt powerful adherents of the houſe of Auſtria, had already made his peace. The towns of Buren, Nidau, and Weſen, were loſt. Both Thurgau and Argau were

open to an invaſion. The treaſury was exhauſted, the people murmured, the troops were diſheartened. And as the princes themſelves were as yet too young to appear at the head of their armies, they were conſequently uninfluenced by motives of perſonal vanity from deſiring to continue the war.

In this ſituation, the count of Thierſtein, abbot of Einſiedlen, in conjunction with Conſtance, Bâle, and many other of the Suabian cities, offered to mediate between the contending parties. The overture met with little oppoſition, except from the republic of Berne, which was induced by private motives to diſſent from the general wiſh. Their reſiſtance, however, availed but little. A truce was concluded, at Zuric, on the firſt of April, for ſeven years, between the houſe of Auſtria and it's allies, on one part, and the Helvetic cantons, including Soleure, on the other. The terms of which were, that during the armiſtice, the confederates ſhould retain poſſeſſion of their late acquiſitions, whether ariſing from conqueſt, or from voluntary ſubmiſſion, with the ſingle exception of the town of Weſen. This too was to be given back, with the expreſs condition, that none of the inhabitants, who had been concerned in the conſpiracy againſt the Swiſs, ſhould be allowed to ſettle there, under any pretence whatever.

whatever. The ſovereignty of the lake of Sempach was ceded to Lucerne, with the right of nominating a water-bailiff. Freedom of commerce was reſtored, and all obnoxious impoſitions taken off. The Swiſs, in return for ſo many advantageous conceſſions, covenanted not to admit into their alliance any ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria, except ſuch as were *actually ſituated within the boundary of their territory*. Finally, it was decided, that in caſe any freſh cauſe of complaint ſhould ariſe, umpires ſhould be choſen by the plaintiff from among the adverſe party, to whoſe deliberation the matter ſhould be referred, and by whoſe award it ſhould be finally determined. This treaty was originally confined to the term of ſeven years, but was prolonged, in 1394, to twenty more, and in 1412 ſtill further for fifty.

Thus ended the memorable conteſt between the houſe of Auſtria and the Helvetic ſtates, after having continued during the greater part of a century. Hoſtilities, indeed, were renewed in the ſequel, but the ſituation of the belligerent powers was no longer the ſame. Hitherto the Swiſs had been conſidered as rebels, who were waging war againſt their lawful ſovereign. But ſucceſs, which in truth is the only juſt criterion of ſuch claims, had now given ſtability to their independance, and ranked them among the free ſtates of Europe. So

that at the recommencement of the war, we ſhall ſee them in a ſituation to act offenſively, till by degrees they become maſters of the greater part of the hereditary poſſeſſions of the houſe of Hapſburg, on the ſouthern bank of the Rhine.

The confederates had now attained the grand object for which they fought, viz. a formal acknowledgment of their independance from the houſe of Auſtria. To them it was an important moment. Their freedom was now eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid baſis. Their valiant champions had not bled in vain. Beſides, by the late acquiſitions, the territories of the different members were united in a more compact body, ſo that their reſpective forces might in future aſſemble with greater facility, might act with greater effect.

But as the advantages, which had accrued to the different members from the eventful iſſue of the war, were in many reſpects local, it may not be unacceptable to our reader to caſt a haſty glance upon each individual canton in it's inſulated ſtate.

The ſituation of Zuric, though apparently brilliant, was by no means free from alarm. If we view only the bright ſide of the picture, we are ſtruck with the ſtability of her internal government, we behold a flouriſhing and extenſive commerce,

merce, and regard the confirmation of her independance as the preſage of future proſperity, and more comprehenſive happineſs. But upon minute examination, we ſhall diſcover, that theſe envied bleſſings hung but on a precarious tenure. Hemmed in on every ſide by the Auſtrian towns of Baden, Kyburg, Winterthur, Regenſburg, and Rapperſwyl, it was impoſſible for hoſtilities to be renewed, without expoſing her trade to very ſerious loſſes. Hence, from motives of intereſt, the only ones deſerving confidence in the tranſactions of nations, the views of Zuric were always of a more pacific nature than thoſe of the other cantons. It was evidently upon this principle, that four years after the ſignature of the *ſeven years truce*,* the ſenate was induced, by the influence of the burgomaſter Schon, to enter into a ſecret negociation with the Auſtrian princes, under pretence indeed of explaining, in a more ſatisfactory manner, ſome ambiguous articles of the former treaty, but in fact to unite their intereſts, in the cloſeſt manner, with thoſe of their natural foe. Nothing could be more hoſtile to the general good of the confederacy, than the whole tenor of this alliance, by which it was ſtipulated, that at the expiration of the *ſeven years truce*, the Zurickers ſhould not co-operate with the other cantons, in

* In 1393.

caſe a rupture ſhould take place between them and the houſe of Auſtria, reſpecting their newly-acquired territory. But on the contrary *ſhould unite with the latter*. The duration of this extraordinary alliance was limited to twenty years; during which period, they were mutually bound to aſſiſt each other with the loyalty of men, whoſe efforts are directed to the attainment of one common object.

The whole of this infamous tranſaction had been carried on, and concluded, without the participation of the great council, under the immediate direction of the burgomaſter. Some, indeed, of the moſt wealthy merchants had been admitted to a participation of his ſecret counſels; but they were men in whoſe mercenary minds a ſpirit of calculation had already annihilated all thoſe finer feelings, which are the ſource of heroic deeds. In ſpite, however, of all their precautions, the ſecret was ſoon divulged; and being known, occaſioned a general alarm. Every member of the confederacy was ſenſible of the injury, and conſulted together upon the proper meaſures to counteract ſo dangerous a plot. A deputation was accordingly ſent to Zuric, to complain, in the bittereſt terms, of this breach of public faith, and to demand an immediate inveſtigation of the whole tranſaction.

The

The people, in whoſe judgment the love of gain was not as yet grown paramount to every other conſideration, were no ſooner made acquainted with the treacherous conduct of their burgomaſter, than they were irritated to the extreme, and expreſſed their indignation by the moſt unequivocal marks of diſpleaſure. With loud and repeated clamors they called for vengeance upon Schon, whom they accuſed of having ſold the honor and intereſts of his country for Auſtrian gold, and inſiſted that an inquiry ſhould be immediately inſtituted by the great council. In vain did the burgomaſter attempt to juſtify his conduct, and to ſcreen himſelf behind the prerogatives of office. The council aſſembled, and demanded to ſee the inſtrument. But being informed that it was ſent to the duke for his ratification, they reſolved unanimouſly, that it would be proper to wait for it's return, previous to any deciſive ſtep being taken.

A few days only elapſed, before the expected meſſenger appeared, when the act was ſubmitted to diſcuſſion. Little deliberation was requiſite to prove the illegality of the meaſure. So that a reſolution was immediately paſſed, declaring the whole negociation to be null and void, on account of it's having been conducted in a manner contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of the conſtitution. The aſſembly then proceeded to baniſh Schon,

Schon, and ſeventeen ſenators, for having uſurped an authority, which was unſanctioned by law, and ordained, that henceforth no burgomaſter ſhould continue in office for more than one year.

This was indeed but a temporary remedy. Every motive of policy concurred in recommending ſome more deciſive ſtep, as a future ſecurity againſt the intriguing ambition of the houſe of Auſtria. Senſible of their real danger, the confederated cantons, therefore, with the intervention of Soleure, framed a *decree*, which, as it's object was chiefly of a military tendency, and had ariſen out of the conſequences of a war, which was immortalized by the victory of Sempach, was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the DECREE OF SEMPACH. Like the fundamental bond of union, it's operation was general, and extended equally to every member of the confederacy.—But in order to avoid the imputation of repetition, we ſhall content ourſelves with laying it before the reader in the abſtract only.

After recommending internal peace, and the moſt exact fidelity in the obſervance of all political engagements, and promiſing protection and ſecurity to perſons of every deſcription, who ſhould henceforth ſettle in the Helvetic territory, it proceeds to thoſe regulations which more particularly

larly regard the operations of war. By the partial pens of national enthuſiaſm, this celebrated ordinance has been frequently repreſented as a perfect code of military tactics. Theſe eulogiums too have been repeated by foreign writers, who ſeem in general to have given implicit credit to the aſſertion. But upon an attentive peruſal, we can diſcover nothing beyond what the dictates of experience and obſervation would naturally ſuggeſt to minds not totally callous to the feelings of humanity.

The recent ſtruggle with the houſe of Auſtria had afforded ſuch evident proofs of the ill effects ariſing from a ſpirit of plunder, that common prudence enforced the neceſſity of repreſſing it in future by every poſſible reſtriction. A reverence for places of religious worſhip, as well as gentleneſs towards thoſe, whoſe age or ſex intitle them to reſpect, are duties indiſpenſable to all civilized nations, and tend in ſome degree to mitigate thoſe manifold calamities, which are inſeparable from a ſtate of warfare, even when conducted upon principles the leaſt ferocious. Union againſt the common enemy is next inculcated in the moſt energetic terms. When ſummoned to the ſtandard of the confederacy, their troops are to advance in a condenſed phalanx. No ſoldier is to quit his ranks

ranks under any pretence whatever: even when diſabled from actual ſervice, by the wounds he may have received, he is commanded to remain firm at his poſt. From the nature of the arms made uſe of by the Swiſs, ſtrength of body was by far more eſſential in the day of battle, than any of thoſe ſcientific evolutions, which have ſince been deemed ſo eſſential to ſervice. Thus, in the memorable fights of Morgarten, Laupen, Sempach, and Næfels, we find the Auſtrian cavalry, trained as they were in the ſchool of diſcipline, and ſkilled in all the arts of military parade, unable to withſtand the furious attack of the Helvetic halberds. Long before the promulgation of the *Decree of Sempach*, the plain underſtandings of theſe unlettered warriors had ſuggeſted the plan of defence beſt ſuited to their ſituation. To advance in a ſolid body, and to rally round their reſpective banners, was the only ſcience with which they were acquainted. Courage ſupplied the place of experience; till their early triumphs taught them all the advantages which aroſe from a ſkilful choice of ground, and proved, that in the hour of combat, there is no ſyſtem ſo conducive to ſucceſs, as confidence in their own ſuperior proweſs. And we are now approaching a period when we ſhall have a further opportunity of elucidating this important fact in a ſtill more ſtriking manner.

It

It was not till ſome time after the commencement of hoſtilities, that the republic of Berne took an active part in the conteſt. Yet the advantages ſhe derived from the war, were far greater than thoſe obtained by any other member of the confederacy. For this, indeed, the Berners were in great meaſure indebted to their poſition. Remote from the theatre of war, they were not only leſs expoſed to aggreſſion, but enjoyed the faireſt opportunity, that ambition could aſpire to, of falling upon the Friburghers, who were cut off from all communication with the reſt of the Auſtrian ſtates. Moſt of the nobles, whoſe territories lay contiguous to the republic, had either been ſubdued by her victorious arms, or had been induced, from motives of prudence, to attach their fortunes to thoſe of ſo powerful a neighbor. The houſes of Arberg and Nidau, were extinct; and the moſt valuable part of their rich inheritance had fallen under the dominion of Berne. The count of Kyburg, reduced to the laſt extremity, had ſaved himſelf from inevitable deſtruction, by the ceſſion of Thun and Burgdorf. Men of illuſtrious names, and untarniſhed reputation, were placed at the head of the commonwealth; who by the powerful leſſons of example, inſtructed their fellow-citizens, that the moſt ſacred of all duties was a zealous attachment to their country.

But

But as an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity is fraught with dangers ſcarce leſs to be dreaded, than thoſe which are produced by a contrary tide of fortune, ſucceſs had eventually conducted theſe enterpriſing republicans to embrace a field of action too vaſt for their limited reſources. Thus by loading the people with unavoidable burdens, the government had impaired that implicit confidence to which the wiſdom of it's meaſures would, in other reſpects, have intitled it; and which is ſo eſſential to the well-being of a ſtate. The people too, elated by recent triumphs, and the conſcious pride of innate worth, began to queſtion the prerogatives of birth, and to think that the eminent ſervices, which they had rendered to their country, gave them a juſt claim to ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. From trivial beginnings, as is uſually the caſe, this ſpirit of diſaffection was gradually diffuſed over a wider ſurface; till the violence of party ſeemed ſeriouſly to threaten the ariſtocracy with no trifling diminution of power; and the ſtate with thoſe calamities which are the fatal conſequences of civil broils. So early as the year 1348, ſeveral members of the council were accuſed of malverſation, and condemned to baniſhment; in which number the avoyer Bubenberg was included. But having found an opportunity of making an advantageous bargain for the republic, in the purchaſe of ſome lands, the people were

were ſo pleaſed with the tranſaction, that they aſſembled, in a tumultuous manner, before the ſenate-houſe, and inſiſted upon his recall.

Theſe unfortunate jealouſies, when once they had taken root, were not eaſily eradicated. During the active labours of a campaign they were, indeed, diverted into a different channel, and excited a ſpirit of emulation, which was attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences. But no ſooner did the fears of an invaſion ſubſide, than they burſt forth with increaſing violence. The growing debt afforded a never-failing ſource for popular complaint. Alarmed at the approaching ſtorm, the wealthy citizens, who had hitherto been forward in ſupplying the exigencies of the ſtate, began now to conſider the ſecurity as doubtful, and to employ their capital in other ſpeculations. Some too demanded payment in a peremptory tone: ſo that the magiſtrates were reduced to the ruinous expedient of borrowing money from foreigners at an exorbitant intereſt, by way of quieting the fears and murmurs of their fellow-citizens.

In 1384, a propoſal was made, in a general aſſembly of the people, to inſtitute an inquiry reſpecting the adminiſtration of the finances, and to puniſh thoſe who were found guilty of peculation. The

The nobility, too weak to reſiſt the current, thought it prudent to temporize. By a partial acquieſcence with the demands which were made, and a ſurrender of ſome of their moſt obnoxious privileges, they produced a temporary calm, and perſuaded the people that they were now in a fair way of obtaining the ultimate object for which they were contending. But no ſooner was the vigilance of the popular party lulled, than moſt of the grants were revoked, and every thing re-eſtabliſhed upon it's ancient footing, with the exception of a ſlight reform, which had been ſuffered to take place in the election of the magiſtrates. Thus a ſort of compromiſe was effected, as if by mutual conſent. The patricians, feeling that no efforts of theirs could be eſſentially uſeful to their country, without the concurrence of their fellow-citizens, did every thing to regain their confidence; while the latter tacitly acknowledged how much they were indebted to the zeal and talents of the ariſtocracy, without which even the freedom of complaint would have been loſt.

From this happy period all former animoſities were buried in oblivion, while every order of ſociety vied with each other in a noble ſtruggle for the public good. And ſuch was the prudence of the leading men, that they took advantage of this favorable turn, to carry a decree, by which it

it was enacted that every individual ſhould contribute a fortieth part of his property, towards the liquidation of the national debt.

The renewal of hoſtilities with Auſtria gave another direction to the views of the ambitious. That ſpirit of enterprize, which during the inactivity of peace, had been formidable to the internal tranquillity of the ſtate, now became productive of the moſt eſſential advantages to the community. The arms of the republic were almoſt every where triumphant; and the vale of Siben, the town of Unterſeen, with the lordſhips of Nidau and Buren, were ſucceſſively added to her territory.

But in the midſt of this brilliant fortune, the face of affairs was ſuddenly changed. On the fourteenth of May, 1404, a fire broke out, which in a few hours conſumed the greater part of the city. So rapid was the progreſs of the flames, that more than one hundred perſons fell victims to their fury; while the loſs of property was immenſe. The ſurvivors, deſtitute of every means of ſubſiſtance, wandered, in a ſtate of hopeleſs miſery, amid the ſmoking ruins, ſeeking out the body of ſome friend or relation, with whoſe deſtiny they were unacquainted. But charity was alive to their diſtreſſes. From every quarter their

allies and dependants came haſtening to their relief. Whatever humanity could procure, or pity adminiſter, was ſupplied with noble generoſity. Food, raiment, money, were daily brought, and accompanied with thoſe ſweet effuſions of benevolence, which would have given value to a leſs important preſent. With fortitude the unhappy ſufferers began now to contemplate their loſs, with activity they ſet about to repair it. The city was rebuilt upon a more extenſive and magnificent plan, and roſe from it's ruins more convenient and ſplendid than ever.

Scarce fifty years were elapſed ſince Lucerne had firſt broken the Auſtrian yoke. Yet ſuch was the benign influence of a popular government, that ſhe had already attained a degree of proſperity, which, in the days of her ſervitude would have been deemed chimerical. By the ſucceſsful iſſue of the late war her territory had been conſiderably enlarged, and Rottenburg, Entlibuch, Meyenberg, the vale of Ebikon, and Sempach, were now ſubject to the juriſdiction of Lucerne.

Neither Uri, Schweitz, or Unterwalden, ſeem ever to have aimed at territorial aggrandiſement. Satisfied with the additional ſecurity, which they derived from the repeated humiliation of their hereditary foe, theſe happy and contented people aſpired

aſpired to no greater glory, than to aſſiſt in the propagation of liberty, wherever man had the courage to aſſert his rights.

To Zug and Glaris the reſult of the war had been highly fortunate. From the very beginning of it, they had ſhaken off every veſtige of dependance upon the convent of Seckingen; and had eſtabliſhed a council, conſiſting of fifteen members, whoſe deciſions in all caſes, both civil and criminal, were without appeal. This important change proved a weighty, and almoſt unſurmountable obſtacle, in the way of peace, during the negociation which took place upon the loſs of Weſen. But by the victory of Næfels every difficulty was removed; and the abbeſs induced to liſten to an equitable propoſal for the ſurrender of all her feudal prerogatives.

The reſt of the Helvetic people were divided in their political opinions, and adhered to either party, as inclination or intereſt directed; though it was evident, to the moſt trivial obſerver, that the confederacy were daily gaining ground. Hitherto both Friburg and Shauffhauſen had been at the devotion of Auſtria, but the moment was approaching when they were to awaken from their deluſion, and to burſt thoſe diſgraceful fetters which perverted reaſon had hitherto been proud to wear.

Bâle and St. Gall, on the contrary, had omitted no opportunity of manifeſting their attachment to the cauſe of liberty. Taking advantage of the neceſſitous ſtate of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the prodigality of their biſhop, the former purchaſed indemnities and privileges which were little ſhort of perfect emancipation, and which contributed, in a ſhort time, to raiſe that opulent city to the higheſt pitch of proſperity. The latter too were upon the point of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the energy of their conduct, and of ſhaking off the ſlothful dominion of the church.

But none were ſo intimately connected with the Helvetic confederacy as the people of Soleure. After taking an active part in the war, they negociated with the houſe of Auſtria upon an independant footing, and ſhared in all the honorable diſtinctions of a free ſtate. Indeed, if we examine every circumſtance of their ſituation, and conſider the line of conduct which they purſued, we are at a loſs to diſcover the reaſons, which could induce them to prefer their preſent equivocal exiſtence to an integral union with the Helvetic bond. Increaſe of power was, however, an object to which their views were prudently directed; and an opportunity offering, they purchaſed the lordſhip of Palm, from the Auſtrian princes. This caſtle had formerly belonged to one of the barons, who were engaged

engaged in the aſſaſſination of Albert, and had been confiſcated by the bloody tribunal. An acquiſition of far greater conſequence was alſo made in the caſtle of Falkenſtein, which commanded one of the moſt important paſſes of the Jura.

A conſiderable time has elapſed ſince we have had occaſion to mention the houſe of Savoy. But this neglect is highly creditable to their adminiſtration. For while violence and pride were directing the councils of the other European potentates, theſe prudent princes continued true to their original plan, and perſevered in that temperate caution, which has, at all times, formed the characteriſtic feature of their government. The apparent danger of the Helvetic cantons, when attacked by the formidable power of Auſtria, threw a temptation in the way of ambition, which it required no moderate ſhare of ſelf-denial to reſiſt. But they wiſely preferred the rare honor of being faithful to their engagements, to the acquiſition of a province obtained through breach of faith, and pilfered from the neceſſities of a plundered ally. On the contrary, they beheld the growing ſtrength of Berne, without betraying any ſymptoms of that little jealouſy, which is ſo common in the tranſactions of contiguous ſtates; while the Berners, on their part, were not ungateful for the favor,

but aſſiſted in extending the juriſdiction of Savoy over the romantic diſtricts of the Vallais.

Upon the death of the count of Granſon, who fell in a duel, his territory was ſeized by Amadeus, duke of Savoy. It is true, we are now anticipating a few years, but it is for the ſake of connecting our ſubject, as much as poſſible, under general heads, which is not, at all times, an eaſy taſk, in the hiſtory of a people ſo little united as thoſe of Switzerland. The circumſtances attending the whole of this extraordinary event, are related by Müller, at conſiderable length, and as they ſerve to illuſtrate the manners of the age, we ſhall give them with ſome detail.

The caſtles of Granſon and Eſtaviel, ſituated on the oppoſite ſhores of the lake of Neuchatel, had been long the abodes of two ancient and illuſtrious families. Otho, lord of Granſon, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in the wars of thoſe times, by many a gallant feat. In the decline of life he bid adieu to the charms of glory, and retired to his hereditary eſtate, reſolving to paſs the remainder of his days in honorable repoſe. Catharine of Belp, the wife of Gerard, count of Eſtaviel, was a lady equally celebrated for her beauty and accompliſhments. Otho no ſooner ſaw her, than he was inflamed

inflamed with the moſt violent paſſion; which partly by perſuaſion, partly by ſtratagem, he found means to gratify. This illicit commerce was not long concealed from the vigilant eye of a jealous huſband. But he diſſembled his reſentment, induced either by an unwillingneſs to publiſh his own diſhonor, and to diſgrace the noble houſe from which Catharine was deſcended; or from a diſinclination to part with a woman, whoſe fortune contributed ſo eſſentially to ſupport the ſplendor in which he lived. But though apparently blind to her infidelity, he brooded over his wrongs in ſecret; and an opportunity ſoon offering to gratify his revenge, he did not fail to take advantage of it.

Amadeus, count of Savoy, died ſuddenly, in the thirty-firſt year of his age, while he was hunting. His death too was attended with circumſtances, which in an age, when events of this kind were ſeldom attributed to natural cauſes, gave riſe to a ſuſpicion that he was poiſoned. Amadeus, count of Piedmont, being the perſon moſt benefited by the occurrence, he was immediately fixed upon as the principal; and Granſon being known to enjoy a large ſhare in his confidence, he alſo was ſelected as the agent. By dark inſinuations and diſtant hints, Gerard did not fail to improve upon the popular tale, and to point out his enemy

as the perſon guilty. Otho, though conſcious of his own innocence, was endowed with too lively a ſenſe of honor, not to feel the injury he ſuſtained. With ſecret pleaſure he beheld an inquiry inſtituted by the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and other illuſtrious kinſmen of the deceaſed, and ſhortly after enjoyed the ſatisfaction of being declared innocent by their joint conſent. This by no means anſwered the private views of his opponent, who ſtill perſevered in the unfounded calumny; and no ſooner had he ſucceeded once more in awakening the public attention, than he boldly ſtood forward as the accuſer, offering to prove the truth of his aſſertion in ſingle combat. The high rank of the deceaſed, united with the brilliant qualities of the accuſed, excited a general intereſt, and attracted crowds of ſpectators to an aſſembly, called by Amadeus at Bourg, in Breſſe. Gerard there renewed the charge, and threw down the gage of battle. No ſooner had he finiſhed, than Otho roſe indignantly from his ſeat, and having ſigned himſelf with the ſign of the croſs, addreſſed the aſſembly in the following words:

* "In the name of the Holy Trinity, of St. "Anne, and of her bleſſed daughter, I do here

* This ſpeech is given as nearly in the words of the old German, as the idiom of our language will allow.

"I declare

" declare Gerard of Eſtaviel to be a liar. There " are ample grounds, moſt noble lords, upon " which I might defer this combat, in which it " is my intention to prove his falſehood, viz. that " we might have time to purify our ſouls before " God—to examine our limbs, if they are ſound " and healthful—and to prepare our horſes and " our arms for the fight. Such delay, however, " let him alone demand, who is either ignorant of " the bitter feuds which ariſe from controverſies " of this nature, or who values not the repoſe of " his country, and of his prince. For my own " part, I pray God, that no public evils may ariſe " out of our private differences! But there lives " not the man, whom Otho of Granſon fears. " To-morrow—this very moment—moſt valiant " knights, am I prepared to maintain my own in- " nocence, and to prove the falſehood of my an- " tagoniſt. But what do I ſay? To ſhew that " I am guiltleſs of the crime which is alledged " againſt me, I need only refer you to the teſti- " mony of the king of France, to that of the duke " of Burgundy, and of many other princes of " that illuſtrious houſe, to which the deceaſed be- " longed. After the moſt minute inveſtigation, " they have pronounced me innocent.

" This day have I reached my ſixtieth year. " To you, who were the friends of my youth,

" and

" and the companions of my arms—to you, who " have ſeen me equally in courts, and in camps— " to you, I appeal. Say, know ye aught in the " character of Otho of Granſon, unworthy of his " illuſtrious name and honorable deſcent? Is there " an action in his life, which can give color to " ſuch an accuſation? Kinſmen, and ſervants of " the deceaſed! To you, who were enriched by " his favors, and honored with his confidence, to " you I addreſs myſelf. Say, whence comes it, " if ſuch a deed has been actually perpetrated, " that Gerard of Eſtaviel is the only perſon to re- " venge your murdered ſovereign? But I am ac- " quainted with the cauſe of his inveteracy. I " am no ſtranger to thoſe, by whoſe ſecret inſti- " gations he has been worked upon to accuſe me. " Ungenerous cowards! When their cauſe were " juſt, why fear they to defend it? But they are " acquainted with the inſtrument whom they em- " ploy. They know his weak and ſordid mind; " know him to be capable of undertaking the " moſt atrocious actions for a vile and dirty bribe. " With blind ſubmiſſion he executes their com- " mands—but he may find reaſon to repent his " baſeneſs! I can have none."

Amadeus, having conſulted his nobles, aroſe. Profoundly inclining his body, in token of his reſpect towards heaven, and having firſt croſſed himſelf,

ſelf, he thus addreſſed the aſſembly. "In the "name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy "Spirit, amen. Imploring God to favor the cauſe "of juſtice, we decree, that a ſingle combat ſhall "take place between the accuſer and the accuſed! "Let each ſupport his rights, and heaven make "manifeſt the truth!"

The ſeventh of Auguſt was fixed upon for the day of trial. And Bourg, in Breſſe, where Amadeus and his court were to be preſent, was the appointed place. The allotted arms were a lance, two ſwords, and a dagger. Theſe preliminary arrangements being ſettled, each of them took the accuſtomed oath, and produced twenty-two knights as ſureties for his appearance. The day arrived. From Burgundy, Helvetia, and the northern parts of Italy, ſpectators flocked in crowds. The judges took their ſeats. Granſon appeared. He had been lately ill, and might have found a plauſible excuſe for delaying the combat, on account of his preſent weakneſs. But he was impatient for the trial, and too brave to make uſe of a plea, which he conſidered to be unworthy his former reputation. The rivals entered the liſts. The ſignal was given. They couched their lances. The ſhock was violent, and Granſon fell.

Immediately

Immediately upon the death of their poſſeſſor, the lordſhip of Granſon, with the towns of Montagny, Belmont, and St. Croix, were ſeized by the count of Savoy, and united to his hereditary ſtates without the ſmalleſt regard to the collateral heirs.

Whoever was hoſtile to the cauſe of freedom, had an undiſputed claim to the protection of Auſtria. But fortunately for the happineſs of mankind, the reſources of that ambitious family proved inadequate to the magnitude of their deſigns; even under the greateſt of their monarchs. In their conduct, too, with reſpect to Switzerland, their hereditary enmity to a republican form of government was ſtill further embittered by the ever-galling ſtings of diſappointed pride. But as ſucceſs is, in general, the beſt teſt of political attachments, every freſh humiliation was invariably attended with the inſurrection of a province, or the defalcation of an ally. The partiſans of this potent family were daily falling off, as the monſtrous ſyſtem of feudal tyranny was gradually on the decline.

Liberty may be juſtly ſtiled the parent of improvement. Thus, if we examine the internal police of Switzerland, we ſhall diſcover a notable progreſs during the fourteenth century. Thoſe feats

ſeats of licentiouſneſs and plunder, which, ſecure in the deſtructive privileges of feudal inſubordination, had formerly defied the controul of law, were now no longer to be ſeen. The avenging ſpirit of juſtice had effaced them from Helvetia. Private wars, too, were there at an end. The barons, who were ſtill permitted to reſide within the territory of the Helvetic confederacy, were obliged to content themſelves with a limited juriſdiction over their reſpective fiefs. But ſhould their turbulent ambition court a more conſpicuous theatre, it was in foreign ſervice they were conſtrained to ſeek it. Prudence, however, had ſuggeſted to numbers the policy of exchanging the rude and ferocious manners of a camp, for the more mild and ſocial habits of municipal life. Thus we find many men of diſtinguiſhed names, both leading the armies of Helvetia againſt the foes of freedom, or preſiding over her tribunals in times of peace; and thinking it more honorable to fill the firſt departments in a ſmall, but independant ſtate, than to languiſh out their irkſome exiſtence in the brilliant ſervitude of a court. Even John of Bonſtetten, ſo long diſtinguiſhed by his warm attachment to the houſe of Auſtria, and ſo often placed at the head of her armies, at length grew weary of the ungracious taſk, and putting all his caſtles under the protection of Zuric, requeſted to be admitted a co-burgher of that flouriſhing

ing commonwealth. Much about the ſame time, the count of Thorberg, diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs of thoſe plans in which a reſtleſs ſpirit had continually hurried him, and ſtruck with remorſe at the recollection of ſome ſcenes, in which the gratification of his ruling paſſion had engaged him, took a haſty reſolution of retiring from the world, and having converted his caſtle into a Carthuſian convent, placed it under the protecting arm of Berne. But an acquiſition of ſtill greater importance followed. Ego, and Bertold of Kyburg, the only ſurviving repreſentatives of the houſe of Zaringen, being received co-burghers of Berne, transferred to that republic the landgraviate of Burgundy, with all it's valuable dependancies, and prerogatives; and retiring to their poſſeſſions in France, ſought the protection of a government, the principles of which were more analogous to their own.

Few of theſe contracts were however made, without a ſtipulation in favor of ſome darling right, which feudal pride could not prevail upon itſelf to ſurrender, and to the preſervation of which, in conſideration of other advantages, the republics were tempted to accede. Hence aroſe that multiplicity of local immunities, and territorial cuſtoms, which diſfigured the chequered ſyſtem of Helvetic polity. Theſe, however, are evils by

by no means peculiar to Switzerland, but are to be met with, in ſome degree, in all countries where the feudal ſyſtem once prevailed. Great allowances muſt certainly be made for the weakneſs and prejudices of mankind in all ages of the world. Without a due attention to theſe, no political reform could be undertaken with the ſmalleſt hope of ſucceſs. We have only to regret, that in ſome inſtances, the timidity of leading men may have induced them to make ſacrifices to the contracted views of the vulgar, which their own enlightened minds muſt have taught them to diſavow. Hence the conſtitutions of modern Europe remind us of a building, where the noble proportions of Palladian architecture ſhould be disfigured by the injudicious preſervation of the pointed arch, and gothic column. Though beautiful in the detail, it would no longer preſent that unity of parts, which conſtitutes perfection.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

War with Appenzel.

FROM the diſtreſſes of the Auſtrian government, and the reduced ſtate of the nobles, the tranquillity of Switzerland appeared to be eſtabliſhed upon a more permanent footing, at the cloſe of the fourteenth century, than it had yet been ſince the days of Rodolphus. But at the commencement of the fifteenth, a conteſt aroſe between the abbot of St. Gall, and the people of Appenzel, in which moſt of the adjacent provinces were, in a ſhort time, involved.

We have already ſeen, that from the earlieſt period of it's foundation, the abbey of St. Gall had been deſervedly ranked among the moſt celebrated ſeminaries of the chriſtian world. From ſmall beginnings, it's poſſeſſions had been gradually augmented, by the prudence of it's adminiſtrators, and the donations of the pious, till it's extended territory gave ſuch conſequence to the abbot, that he had long ſince obtained a ſeat among the princes of the empire. Such too was the power and reputation

putation conferred by this high dignity, that upon every vacancy, the ſucceſſion became an object of contention among the moſt powerful families in that part of Germany. Often too, as is natural in controverſies of this nature, the ſucceſsful competitor was more indebted to bodily ſtrength, and perſonal courage, than to the embelliſhments of literature, or the mild virtues of chriſtianity. Scenes like theſe were but little calculated to inſpire reſpect, or to eſtabliſh authority. Theſe frequent periods of anarchy had afforded to a people, at all times jealous of their liberties, a fair opportunity of encroaching upon the prerogatives of their prince; who, when fully ſeated in the epiſcopal chair, found it prudent to connive at the innovations, left, by too rigorous a retroſpect, he might give umbrage to thoſe, whoſe allegiance was at beſt precarious.

Both the town of St. Gall, and the adjacent country of Appenzel, were ſubject to the juriſdiction of the abbot. The former, like many other of the German cities, owed it's proſperity, in a great degree, to the neighboring monaſtery. In proceſs of time, however, it had been raiſed to the dignity of an imperial city, and enriched, by ſucceeding emperors, with a variety of important privileges, which conferred little leſs than independance.

Theſe immunities, which were originally granted at the abbot's requeſt, and intended as a mark of reſpect towards him, while he confined himſelf to the duties of his office, were in the ſequel multiplied with a view of finding ſuch employment at home for the turbulent ambition of theſe warlike prelates, that they might have little leiſure for extraneous enterpriſes. Thus had St. Gall ſucceſſively acquired the right of coining money—of holding an annual fair—and of bearing it's appropriate arms on an independant banner. To theſe was added an exemption from all foreign tribunals in civil proceſſes—from perſonal ſervitude—from the juriſdiction of the imperial bailiff—and from all fiſcal contributions, ſo far as they regarded the empire. Finally too it obtained the invaluable right of being ſubject only to it's municipal tribunal, whoſe deciſions, even in capital caſes, were final, and without appeal. Yet notwithſtanding theſe repeated grants, the abbot ſtill retained a conſiderable degree of authority; and what was natural enough in his ſituation, pretended to far more than he really poſſeſſed. A connection, ſo equivocal and ſo undeterminate, could not fail to prove a conſtant ſource of diſquietude and contention. The more the ſubject was canvaſſed, the further it was from being ſettled. Both parties grew more extravagant in their demands, and to aſcertain the exact boundaries between prerogative

tive and privilege, required a degree of moderation, which neither of them was inclined to adopt. So that little was now wanting to kindle the latent ſparks into an active flame.

In purſuing the mountain path, from St. Gall to Thurgau, a ſcene of uncommon beauty preſents itſelf to the view. Cluſtering hills, luxuriant in verdure, and interſperſed with rich paſtures, and commodious cottages, break into a thouſand landſcapes, where romantic nature has been prodigal of all her charms. Behind theſe the Alpine ſummits riſe in majeſtic grandeur, and elevate the mind to ideas of omnipotence, which the more regular features of our cultivated plains are inadequate to inſpire. It is in a ſpot like this, that Milton might have ſung the power of the Almighty; while the maſſive fragments of ſhattered rocks, whoſe duration is co-eval with the world, lay round him in promiſcuous ruin, and awakened in his enraptured genius thoſe terrific images, which dignify the fall of the degraded angels.

From the earlieſt times, theſe happy regions had been cultivated by a hardy and induſtrious race of men. Liberty had given energy to their exertions, and taught them to encounter difficulties, from which, under a government where property was leſs ſecure, the heart would ſhrink. Accord-

ing to the intricate principles of the feudal ſyſtem, the legal ſovereignty of Appenzel was originally veſted in the kings of France, who were annually entitled to a moderate tribute. It was pretended, by the abbots of St. Gall, that this right had in part been transferred to them, at an early period of the French monarchy; and though neither the exiſtence of the grant, nor the exact time of it's being made, were ever properly aſcertained, the claim had gained validity, and was no longer queſtioned. Other rights had devolved to the empire, which was never backward in aſſerting them. Beſides theſe, many of the neighboring barons were in poſſeſſion of various feudal prerogatives, which conſtituted a heterogeneous form of polity, where, among a variety of competitors for power, little real authority exiſted.

Such was the ſituation of Appenzel, when Cuno of Stauffen was placed at the head of the monaſtery, in 1379. Being naturally of an ambitious temper, he ſoon formed the project of eſtabliſhing an abſolute juriſdiction over the whole of that country, which, on account of it's unſettled ſtate, appeared open to every claim. But for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe it was neceſſary that he ſhould get poſſeſſion of all the imperial prerogatives, and with ſuch addreſs did he conduct his plan, that they were in a ſhort time made over to him

him by mortgage. Every thing had now ſucceeded to his wiſhes, and had he perſevered in the ſame prudent conduct which he had hitherto employed, there is every reaſon to believe that he would have gradually obtained the ultimate end of his purſuit. But ſatisfied with the validity of his title, he neglected the only ſure foundation of power—the affections of his ſubjects. Beſides, being a man of an auſtere character, and of deſpotic principles, he had laid down a theory of government very favorable to arbitrary ſway; and to this he adhered, with inflexible obſtinacy, without making any allowance for the temper of the times, which was by no means congenial to his own. His agents, too, were either purpoſely choſen from among men of ſimilar diſpoſitions, or formed themſelves after his example. The bailiff of Schwendi not only laid an exorbitant duty upon butter, cheeſe, and milk, but kept two large dogs, which were let looſe upon thoſe who preſumed to murmur at ſo great a hardſhip. The bailiff of Appenzel was guilty of ſtill more violent oppreſſions, and carried his avarice to ſuch lengths, that under pretence of the non-payment of certain fees, he cauſed the graves to be opened, that he might pillage the dead of their ſepulchral dreſs—the laſt, dear gift of filial piety. At the ſame time, his extortions were inſupportable. Induſtry itſelf had no plea for indulgence. Even

the ſcanty ſavings of poverty became an object of taxation. Complaints too were uſeleſs; for Cuno, delighted that the coffers of the abbey ſhould be repleniſhed, was totally indifferent to the means by which the ſupplies were raiſed.

The peaſants of Appenzel, accuſtomed to breathe the pure air of liberty upon the bleak ſummits of their native mountains, inured to fatigue from toil and induſtry, and habituated, by martial ſports, to the ſhew and image of war, were bleſt with ſpirits free and unconfined as the atmoſphere in which they dwelt. Among a people, preſerved by nature from the contagious leſſons of poliſhed life, the vices of refinement were unknown. Their virtues, too, were few. But they were the growth of nature, and not of that factitious quality which faſhion has created, and which are ſcarcely diſcernible from their oppoſite defects. Prompted by the innate emotions of the heart, they practiſed charity, that pureſt precept of chriſtianity, without knowing it to be a duty. Whoever was diſtreſſed had a reſiſtleſs claim to their aſſiſtance, whoever ſerved them to their gratitude. But though feelingly alive to every warmer ſentiment, they had but little idea of thoſe civil diſtinctions which have decreed, that thouſands ſhould ſuffer for the benefit of one. When addreſſed in the perſuaſive language of courteſy, they were mild and

and gentle as the tranquil ſtream which murmured through their vale; but at the appearance of injuſtice, they roſe indignant, like the mountain torrent, which foams and rages from its native Alps.

1400. By a people, ſuch as we have deſcribed, it was not likely, that the ſyſtem, purſued by Cuno, ſhould be long ſubmitted to with patience. Secret meetings took place among thoſe, whom age and experience had rendered objects of general confidence. In theſe it was agreed to ſound the public opinion, and if their countrymen were prepared for the effort, the example of the foreſt cantons afforded them a precedent. The inveſtigation anſwered their expectations. Every ſoul was incenſed at the exactions of the bailiffs, who were univerſally compared to Landenberg and Geſsler, and thought deſerving the ſame fate. Upon this the deciſive ſtep was immediately taken. The people armed. The ſtrong paſſes were ſeized, and the tyrants driven away. Theſe acts of hoſtility were accompanied with a declaration, that it was their firm reſolution to maintain themſelves in their independant ſtate, till they received ample ſatisfaction for the injuries they had ſuſtained.

Cuno, though highly ſenſible of the affront which was offered to his authority, was by no

means in a ſituation to compel obedience by force of arms. Long had the monaſtery been a prey to thoſe internal diſſentions, which are inſeparable from all religious communities. Meanwhile domeſtic economy had been neglected; while the profuſion of the abbot, whoſe expences were more frequently regulated by pride than prudence, augmented the general embarraſſment. Deſirous, therefore, of concealing, as far as poſſible, the declining ſtate of the order, Cuno had recourſe to negociation, that never-failing reſource of artifice and diſhoneſty. At his interceſſion, the Swabian league came forward with an offer to mediate, and propoſed terms of accommodation.

The Appenzellers aſſured them of their readineſs to treat on equitable terms; but of their firm determination to reſiſt oppreſſion and injuſtice. For their future ſecurity, however, they requeſted that the bailiffs ſhould be choſen from a liſt of their own people, which ſhould be preſented to the abbot for his election. No wiſer condition could have been propoſed. If complied with, it might have preſerved inviolate the rights of the abbey, till that fatal period, when no rights were any longer ſacred. But the queſtion was artfully referred for conſideration to a diſtant time, and the deluded people prevailed upon to lay down their arms, upon the vague aſſurance, that nothing ſhould

ſhould henceforth be attempted, which was contrary to their privileges.

Whatever may have been the abbot's intentions, his agents were little diſpoſed to obſerve the promiſe; but returned to their office with a decided reſolution of making the rebellious peaſants ſmart for their diſobedience. Perſonal reſentment being thus added to the innate love of oppreſſion, they no ſooner reſumed their functions, than they
1401. ſeized upon the principal leaders of the popular faction, hoping by their impriſonment to intimidate the reſt. Thus we find, that when Providence determines, in it's mercy, that a people ſhall be free, it ſeems as if the government was driven on, by a reſiſtleſs impulſe, to adopt thoſe very meaſures, which are beſt calculated to excite reſiſtance, and which can alone excuſe it.

So flagrant a breach of public faith excited a general ferment. Both St. Gall and the neighboring towns were loud in their complaints, and judging from this treatment what they might themſelves expect, ſhould the abbot ſucceed in cruſhing the Appenzellers, they formed an alliance with them for their mutual ſecurity.

Expoſed on every ſide to accumulating dangers, Cuno had again recourſe to palliatives; flattering himſelf

himſelf that by partial condeſcenſions he might appeaſe the tumult, and truſting to chance for the event. But as he abſolutely refuſed to liſten to any complaints againſt his agents, the inſurgents eaſily penetrated his deſigns, and diſcovering that his only object was to gain time, they flew
1402. once more to arms. A formal deputation was immediately ſent to the monaſtery, requiring ſatisfaction, or announcing their reſolution to obtain it. Too proud to comply, too weak to reſiſt, Cuno was alarmed at this tone of firmneſs, and aſſembled the community, repreſenting to them, in lively colors, the perils to which they were expoſed, and ſuggeſting, at the ſame time, the neceſſity of abandoning their ſplendid retreat without further delay, and confiding in heaven for protection. The advice was inſtantly adopted. The priory was deſerted, and the church ſhut. All religious ceremonies ceaſed, all charitable donations were ſuſpended. This haſty reſolution, which, at firſt ſight, ſtrikes us as the effect of deſpair, will upon reflection appear to be the reſult of ſound policy, and of a thorough knowledge of the human heart. The minds of the people were not as yet prepared for ſuch an event. In his quality of a temporal prince, they felt no reluctance in oppoſing the violent proceedings of the abbot; but in his ſpiritual capacity, they ſtill approached him with reverence and awe, and trembled

trembled at the bare idea of incurring the cenſure of the church; and thus being deprived of thoſe impoſing pageantries, which the pomp and oſtentation of the catholic rites, when adminiſtered by ſo high a dignitary, have blended with religion to the delight and aſtoniſhment of vulgar minds.

Repeated attempts were again made, by the adjacent cities, particularly by thoſe of the Swabian league, to effect a reconciliation; and a propoſal ſuggeſted, that the abbot ſhould be at perfect liberty to nominate his agents, provided they were natives of Appenzel. But that with reſpect to taxes, the deciſion of that queſtion ſhould be referred to the imperial diet. Theſe conditions would probably have been deemed ſatisfactory, but the moſt material point was ſtill undecided, namely, the alliance with the town of St. Gall. And this was no eaſy taſk, as both parties aſſerted, that it was a right inherent in the condition of man to aſſociate for mutual defence; while the abbot pretended, that ſuch an act was ſubverſive of his authority, and contrary to their allegiance. After much deliberation, however, it was finally agreed to ſubmit the queſtion to John Stroylin, burgomaſter of Ulm, who was a man of that ſpecious character, which generally paſſes for virtuous, and who knew the value of a fair reputation too well to part with it for a trifle. But the magiſtrate

giſtrate had been previouſly gained, and gave the following decree: "That both St. Gall and Appenzel ſhould enjoy all their ancient privileges "in the fulleſt extent, but that the league between "them ſhould be diſſolved, on account of it's "wanting that moſt eſſential requiſite, the ſanction of the abbot." By this deciſion, Cuno gained every thing, for which he had been contending. For the St. Gallers, preferring intereſt to honor, were tempted to ſacrifice a weak ally to the inconvenience they ſuffered from the deſerted ſtate of the priory; and the Appenzellers, when abandoned to themſelves, appeared no longer formidable. But minds like their's were ſuperior to the ſtrokes of fortune, and roſe with the dangers which met them. During the ſummer months, many of their young men had ſerved under the banners of Glaris, in an expedition againſt Coire, to recover ſome cattle, which had been carried off by force. During this excurſion, they had witneſſed all the comforts which the Schweitzers enjoyed under the benign influence of a free government. They returned enchanted with what they had ſeen, and eager to riſk their lives in ſuch a cauſe. Ideas of this nature were little calculated to promote a reconciliation. A meſſenger arrived with the articles. The people were ſummoned to hear them read. With mute attention they liſtened to the decree, till they came

to

to the clauſe, by which their union with St. Gall was annulled. They could bear no more, but exclaimed unanimouſly, with a general impulſe of indignation, "*We are betrayed! We are betrayed! To arms! To arms!*

Deceived, and forſaken by thoſe, in whom they had placed unbounded confidence, nothing now was left them but their courage. On this and Heaven they relied, determined either to obtain independance, or to periſh in the attempt. This reſolution was no ſooner taken, than they diſpatched meſſengers to the confederate cantons, imploring pity and aſſiſtance. By five of the cantons, who were unacquainted with their reſources, and who ſaw no immediate advantage in the connection, they were received with cold neglect. Glaris, indeed, left it's citizens at liberty to follow their own inclinations, and two hundred of them inſtantly took up arms. But Schweitz alone—Schweitz, who if ſhe had poſſeſſed the ability, would have imparted the bleſſings of liberty to all mankind—eſpouſed the cauſe with ardor, and at the requeſt of the Appenzellers, ſent Werner Amſel and Peter Lori, both perſons of diſtinguiſhed prudence, to direct their affairs, in the place of the bailiffs who had fled.

The

1403. The abbot, who now deſpiſed the enemy in their inſulated ſtate, aſſumed a more haughty tone. But anxious, at the ſame time, to preſerve appearances, he deputed George of Ems, an officer in his ſervice, with freſh propoſals; accompanied by an offer of general pardon, provided they returned immediately to their allegiance. The Appenzellers, having heard his meſſage, replied with firmneſs, "That he was come too late; "for that wearied out with artifice and ill-treat- "ment, their deſtiny was at length decided; and "that they now belonged to the Helvetic confe- "deracy." "Your lord will reduce you to obe- "dience, and ſpeedily too," cried Ems with a ſcornful ſmile. "We truſt in God, and in our "ſwords," rejoined the Appenzellers; and the knight rode away.

The deciſion was now reduced to the chance of arms. The abbot prepared for the field, and was aſſiſted by all the neighboring barons, who were eager to ſend reinforcements for the chaſtiſement of rebellion. On the 15th of May the troops aſſembled under the walls of the abbey, to the number of five thouſand. The ſentinels beheld them from the heights, and gave the ſignal for battle, which now reſounded for the firſt time amid the mountains of Appenzel. Having received the

the parting bleſſing of their aged parents, the youth, to a man, quitted their native villages, and flocked to the defence of their country. About two thouſand of them, under the command of Hartz, took poſt, in an advantageous poſition, on the ſummit of the Vogelinſee, near the village of Speicher. From thence a road deſcends, through a hollow way, to the town of St. Gall, which lies at the foot of the mountain, upon the river Steinach. The deſcent is no where rapid, but rough and rocky, and in many places overſhaded with thick and tufted trees.

While Cuno entertained the commanders with magnificence in the monaſtery, proviſions were diſtributed to the troops, who paſſed the night in mirth and revelry. By the Appenzellers it was ſpent in prayer, and in preparations for the enſuing day, which was to decide their deſtiny for ever. At the dawn of morn, they ate their frugal meal, and having occupied the moſt advantageous poſts, awaited the enemy's approach in awful expectation. With palpitating hearts they beheld them marſhal their forces under the walls of St. Gall. The march commenced at ſun-riſe. In a regular column they aſcended the hill, and gained the hollow way, unconſcious that a detachment of five-hundred men from Schweitz and Glaris, were concealed in the adjacent thickets. Unmo-

leſted

leſted they were allowed to proceed. But no ſooner had they paſſed the defile, than they were attacked in front by a body of Appenzellers, while the Schweitzers, ruſhing from the woods, fell furiouſly upon their rear. Their ſituation now became critical. They were aſſailed by the enemy on every ſide, yet were prevented by the nature of the ground from forming any eſtimate of their numbers, or knowing on which quarter to direct their efforts. Judging however from their fears, that the chief force of the inſurgents had been aſſembled near the hollow way, they reſolved to gain the heights, where the country opened, and afforded a more ample ſpace for military evolutions. But ſcarce had they had advanced a few ſteps, when the main body of the Appenzellers appeared in ſight. They were drawn up in cloſe array, and had choſen their ground ſo judiciouſly, that their army ſeemed far more numerous than it really was. Their appearance too was military; their countenance undaunted; their forms robuſt and manly.

The confederates now perceived the full extent of their danger. To retreat was difficult; to advance deſtructive. Nothing, therefore, was left them, but to attempt, by an apparent flight, to draw the enemy from the ſtrong poſt they occupied, and to lead them into the plain, where their own

own ſuperiority of numbers might prove deciſive. A *retreat* was accordingly ſounded. The foremoſt ranks fell back. The Appenzellers purſued, making great havoc with their bows and halberds. Meanwhile, the rear, miſtaking the command, gave up all for loſt, and flinging away their arms, ran with precipitation to the gates of St. Gall. The men of Schweitz and Glaris, perceiving the confuſion, loſt no time in occupying the vacant ground, ſo that the advanced body was completely cut off.

From this moment the conſternation became general. Nothing was thought of but flight. Some ſought for ſafety in the woods. Others threw down their ſwords, and begged for mercy. Few, if any, would have eſcaped, had not humanity, and the recollection of former friendſhip, pleaded ſtrongly in their favor.* One inſtance, among many, we feel ourſelves bound to record. *Hartman Ringli*, being mortally wounded, beſought his adverſary, whoſe uplifted arm was preparing to repeat the blow, to ſpare his life. "I am already dying," ſaid the bleeding ſoldier, "but

* Upwards of three hundred were ſlain, and among them ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. The Appenzellers loſt only eight men.

" have a wife and infant child at St. Gall, whom I " would fain embrace once more." " Thou ſhalt " embrace them," replied the generous victor— and raiſing him in his arms, he carried him to the gates of the town, from whence he diſpatched a meſſenger to his family, with the tidings of his diſtreſs. His wife, informed of his ſituation, haſtened to his aſſiſtance. His prayer was granted: he expired in her arms.

Elate with victory, the young men intreated their leaders to conduct them, without delay, to the attack of the town. But they prudently reſtrained this intemperate ardor, ſatisfied with the conqueſt of four banners, and eager to return to their wives and children, whom they could now embrace with the confidence of free men. But aware that the abbot would ſeize the firſt opportunity of renewing hoſtilities, they loſt not a moment in providing for their future ſecurity, by deſtroying the caſtles of Claux, Schwendi, Sconenbuhl, and Horiſau, with many other ſeats of feudal tyranny. They likewiſe made incurſions upon the lands belonging to the priory, plundering and carrying off whatever they could meet with. Expeditions of this nature were attended with the double advantage of giving confidence to their own troops, and diſheartening thoſe of the

the enemy. For they well knew, that to inſpire reſpect, was the only certain road to a ſafe and honorable peace.

1404. Meanwhile the town of St. Gall, whoſe commerce had ſeverely ſuffered from the interruptions, which are inſeparable from a ſtate of warfare, grew urgent with the abbot to treat. But having ſounded the diſpoſition of Frederic, duke of Auſtria, and finding that both he, and the barons of Thurgau, were inclined to ſupport his cauſe, he turned a deaf ear to their repreſentations, ſpoke contemptuouſly of the mountaineers, and magnified his own reſources, in terms of the moſt unbounded arrogance. Perceiving, therefore, that nothing was to be obtained from the moderation of Cuno, they very wiſely reſolved to take care of their own concerns, and made a ſeparate peace with Appenzel. This act of prudence ſo incenſed the abbot, that he again quitted the monaſtery, and transferred all religious ceremonies to Wyl, where the fraternity poſſeſſed another fief.

The Appenzellers, on their part, were not inactive. In order to ſecure friends and adherents, they eſtabliſhed, wherever they came, that ſyſtem of independance, which they themſelves prized beyond all earthly bleſſings. This politic meaſure

produced the effect which was foreſeen. The cry of *liberty* reſounded from every mouth. The flame ſpread with the rapidity of the electric ſhock. All the peaſants roſe in arms. But it is no leſs curious, than melancholy, to remark the ſignification, which, in all periods of hiſtory, has been attached, by the lower claſſes of mankind, to the idea of *freedom*; with them it is ſynonimous to *licentiouſneſs*: they diſtinguiſh not between making the rich, poor; and the poor, rich. To an ungovernable mob the former is the work of a ſingle hour; but the latter unfortunately exceeds the efforts of benevolence, and is contrary to the courſe of nature.

Meanwhile, the abbot, whoſe ſolicitations were ſtrongly ſeconded by all the neighbouring barons, became every day more importunate with Frederic for aſſiſtance. To give greater weight to their petitions, they repreſented Appenzel as a ſecond Schweitz, but rendered more bold and formidable, by the alarming precedent of ſucceſsful rebellion, and led, by their haughty character, to aim at pre-eminence in guilt. That if they were ſuffered to acquire ſtrength, by the ſupineneſs and neglect of the houſe of Auſtria, and to incorporate with the Helvetic confederacy, no human force would be any longer able to oppoſe their deſtructive progreſs, but that the ruin of all feudal govern-

governments muſt ſpeedily enſue. However indifferent he might be to their intereſt, Frederic was by no means inſenſible to his own. From that moment he conſidered inactivity to be diſgraceful, and publicly declared his intentions of chaſtiſing the rebels in perſon.

1404. The Appenzellers no ſooner heard of the preparations that were making, and which Cuno ſeized every opportunity to mention in the moſt exaggerated terms, than they were ſtruck with diſmay at the intelligence. But as they were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, a general aſſembly was ſummoned to deliberate upon the propereſt means of reſiſtance. The people met. Suſpence and agitation were viſible upon every brow. None dared adviſe, though every one was equally prepared to die in the cauſe of freedom.

In this anxious moment of general alarm, Rudolph, count of Werdenberg, preſented himſelf before them. He was deſcended from the ancient houſe of Montfort, which was now divided into three branches. Count Montfort of the *red* banner, had ſold his patrimonial eſtates to the houſe of Auſtria, and no longer took any part in the affairs of Switzerland. But Werdenberg, of the

black banner, had formerly poſſeſſed extenſive fiefs, both in Swabia, in the Rheinthal, and in Rhætia. *Freudenberg* was his reſidence, the ruins of which are ſtill viſible on a hill, near Ragaz. Few barons ſurpaſſed him in wealth; fewer in reputation; none certainly in misfortune. For during a family conteſt with his couſins of the *white* banner, Auſtria, by artfully ſupporting the weaker party, and thus keeping alive the ſeeds of diſſention, found means to poſſeſs herſelf of the whole conteſted property. John, the father of Rudolph, had borne arms in the Auſtrian ſervice, and was entruſted with an important command in the war againſt Glaris. After the fatal battle of Næfels, he would have gladly renounced his brilliant ſituation, to have purchaſed the friendſhip and alliance of the victors. But they, miſtruſting his ſincerity, rejected the offer. Nothing therefore was left him except to continue in his former ſituation; though in order to ſupport the ſplendor, which his rank demanded, he was ſubjected to expences, which ſoon reduced him to the neceſſity of mortgaging his lands and caſtles, to that ungrateful power, in whoſe ſervice he had acquired poverty. At his death, he left four ſons, to whom he had little to bequeath, except an illuſtrious name and high principles of honor.

Rudolph,

Rudolph, upon his entrance, was received with ſilent ſurprize. At ſuch a moment, the preſence of a noble appeared ſuſpicious. Obſerving the ſtrong marks of aſtoniſhment, which his arrival occaſioned, he haſtened to remove their doubts. In a ſhort, but animated ſpeech, he expatiated upon various acts of cruelty and injuſtice, which had been exerciſed by the houſe of Auſtria, and from which none had ſuffered more ſeverely than his own family—and then continued in the following words. "I know that it is the duke's in-
"tention to attack you with a formidable force;
"therefore do I proffer you my ſervices. The
"juſt and honeſt are united by the bonds of
"amity, whatever may be their country, or their
"ſituation in life. The oppreſſed have one com-
"mon cauſe to defend: one common intereſt
"joins them. A Montford offers you his arm.
"Be that name my pledge! for never did traitor
"bear it. I aſk not for diſtinctions: let me but
"be as yourſelves, a free peaſant of Appenzel.
"Some military ſkill—I boaſt not of it—my paſt
"experience gives me. That, and my ſword,
"are all which the relentleſs hand of deſpotiſm
"has left me. But what I have is yours. To
"live with you, and to die in the ſame glorious
"ſtruggle, is all I aſk."

The Appenzellers were no ſtrangers to the high reputation which Rudolph enjoyed. They had often heard him praiſed for military ſkill, for the integrity of his principles, and for a nice ſenſe of honor. No ſooner, therefore, had he finiſhed his diſcourſe, than a general burſt of applauſe announced their welcome. Having taken an oath of fidelity, and laid aſide all the diſtinctions of rank, he henceforth aſſumed the ruſtic garb, and ſimple habits of a ſhepherd. From that day, he grew hourly in their eſteem. The attachment was reciprocal. They loved him for the ſacrifices he had made: he admired them for the principles they profeſſed. So that ſhortly after, upon the renewal of the war, he was appointed to the chief command by unanimous conſent.

1405. Frederic, who notwithſtanding his apparent indolence, was ſecretly delighted with the opportunity which now offered, of taking the rich abbey of St. Gall under his immediate protection, began to aſſemble his forces early in the month of June. Being immediately joined by Cuno, by the biſhop of Conſtance, and by moſt of the nobles from Thurgau, he divided his army into two bodies. At the head of one, he preſented himſelf in perſon before the town of St. Gall, which had now declared for Appenzel, and was defended

defended by a garriſon of four hundred Appenzellers. The other body was ordered to penetrate into Appenzel by the way of the Rheinthal, and to attack the inſurgents wherever they could be found. Rudolph was aware of their intentions, and prepared to oppoſe them. With his little force, he took poſt upon the Arlenberg, in a poſition where he could watch the motions of the enemy, and be at liberty to act as circumſtances required. On the 17th of June, the Auſtrians advanced from Alſtetten, with a view to force Werdenberg in his entrenchments. The morning was cloudy, and ſoon turned to rain. A detachment of two hundred archers were ſent forward to ſcour the country, and open a paſſage through a narrow defile, by which it was neceſſary to aſcend the mountain. But finding that the vanguard continued to proceed unmoleſted, the main body was put in motion. Without oppoſition they advanced, but not without difficulty; for the rain had rendered the turf ſo ſlippery, it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to keep their feet. Having ſuffered them to approach the ſummit of the mountain, Rudolph perceived the full advantage of his ſituation, and loſt not a moment to improve it. A body of four hundred men was inſtantly detached to begin the fight. From the impending heights, they rolled down ponderous ſtones, and vaſt pieces of timber, upon the

the foe, who on account of the circuitous nature of the road, were ſtill below them. However, they perſevered in the attempt, though in ſome diſorder, till they gained the ſummit, where they beheld the main body of Appenzellers drawn up in cloſe array. Rudolph now gave the ſignal to engage. With ſword in hand he ruſhed upon the enemy, and wherever he preſented himſelf the ranks were broken. Every circumſtance too contributed to favor his attack. The Auſtrian bows were rendered uſeleſs by the violence of the rain;* while the nature of the ground operated ſtrongly to their prejudice. Yet in ſpite of every diſadvantage, they maintained the conteſt with a degree of obſtinacy, which did honor to their military character, and which might have rendered the event uncertain, when one of thoſe extraordinary accidents, which are ſo frequent in the chance of war, decided the combat in a moment. And this was no other than the ſudden appearance of a numerous troop, habited in white, which was ſeen on the oppoſite hill. The Auſtrians, ſuppoſing it to be a reinforcement from ſome of the adjacent cantons, and fearful of being attacked in

* Some authors attribute the ſucceſs of the Appenzellers to a precaution employed by Werdenberg of making his troops pull off their ſhoes, before they engaged, which enabled them to keep their feet, notwithſtanding the ſlipperineſs of the ſoil,

flank,

flank, fled with precipitation. Rudolph took advantage of their conſternation, and preſſed upon them with redoubled ardor. Inſpired by his example, his troops were more than men.* During ſix hours they drove the enemy before them, whom they followed to the very banks of the Rhine, giving quarter to none. At length, ſatiated with ſlaughter, they returned from the purſuit, and haſtened with grateful hearts to acknowledge their obligation to the unknown troop, to whoſe opportune arrival they were, in great meaſure, indebted for victory. When to their utter aſtoniſhment they diſcovered in the gallant ſtrangers their own wives and daughters; who with a ſpirit, which does honor to the ſex, had thus rendered themſelves the aſſociates of their danger, and the partners of their glory.

* Among a variety of inſtances, which national gratitude has recorded, the following appears to merit the attention of poſterity. *Ulp Rotach*, a brave mountaineer, being ſurrounded by twelve of the enemy, diſdained to ſurrender. Having placed his back againſt a ſhepherd's hut, he for a long time maintained the unequal conteſt, defending himſelf with his halberd, till he laid five of them dead at his feet. Unable to force him from his poſt, the Auſtrians had the baſeneſs to ſet fire to the hut. Here courage availed no longer. The ruſtic hero fell; but enjoyed in death the conſolation, to which his magnanimous ſoul aſpired, of having never yielded to man.

Duke

Duke Frederic no ſooner learnt the diſaſtrous fate of his army, than he raiſed the ſiege of St. Gall; during which, he had already experienced ſo gallant a reſiſtance, that he could entertain no reaſonable hope of reducing it. Directing his courſe towards Arbon, he was proceeding with little caution, when the garriſon of St. Gall, who, from their intimate knowledge of the mountains had been enabled to gain a march upon him, fell furiouſly upon his rear. Frederic immediately collected his ſcattered troops, marſhalled them in order, and preſented battle. But his opponents were too prudent to riſk the advantage, which they had already obtained, and contented themſelves with haraſſing the Auſtrians during the reſt of their march.

Exaſperated at theſe repeated miſcarriages, Frederic burnt for an opportunity of retrieving the tarniſhed honor of his arms, and determined to make one effort more, ere he abandoned the enterpriſe altogether. Inſtead, therefore, of marching directly to Inſpruck, as was apparently his intention, both from the orders he had given, and the diſpoſitions he had made, he turned ſuddenly to the right, and gained the Rheinthal, with an intention of aſcending the Wolfsbalde, and ſurpriſing the inſurgents, before they could be prepared

pared to reſiſt. The plan was excellent, and would have ſucceeded, had not the duke indiſcreetly imparted it to a young courtier, who enjoyed his private ear. The courtier had a miſtreſs, who had an irreſiſtible claim to his confidence; and the miſtreſs a more favored lover, from whom ſhe kept nothing concealed. Thus in a few hours the ſecret ſpread through the camp, and reaching the ears of an officer, who had a friend in the hoſtile army, he found an opportunity to warn him of the impending danger. The intelligence was inſtantly communicated to Werdenberg, who with his uſual activity took meaſures to defeat the ſcheme. Having placed a choſen troop in ambuſh, he fell ſuddenly upon the enemy, while they were aſcending the mountain, in full confidence of ſucceſs, and attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were unable to withſtand the ſhock. Rallying, however, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of ground, they took poſt near a church, where they defended themſelves with ſuch obſtinacy, that the Appenzellers ſuffered ſeverely before they could diſlodge them. But when they once gave way, the confuſion was irretrievable; ſo that upwards of four hundred periſhed in the flight. Frederic, who had remained at the foot of the mountain, in proud expectation of ſeeing the rebel chiefs brought in fetters to his camp, no ſooner beheld his troops come pouring down

down in diſorder, than he loſt all reliſh for continuing the war. Overwhelmed with ſhame and diſappointment, he took a haſty leave of the barons of Thurgau, and having reſigned the command to the count of Toggenbourg, he haſtened to Inſpruck, hoping there to drown the recollection of his diſgraces, amid the pleaſures and adulation of a court.

Liberated from all immediate dangers, the Appenzellers and St. Gallers now concluded a league, both offenſive and defenſive, for nine years. But ſuch was the reputation, which the former had acquired by their brilliant exploits, that many of the adjacent towns, and neighboring barons, ſent deputies to Appenzel, to court the friendſhip and alliance of that victorious ſtate.

Werdenberg was now become the darling of his new aſſociates; they ſought a recompence for his ſervices; and ſince every thing appeared within the compaſs of their valor, they formed the reſolution of reinſtating him in his hereditary eſtates. During their march, they met with little oppoſition: many barons opened their caſtles, and welcomed them with ſimulated joy; while thoſe who made any reſiſtance ſaw their fortreſſes taken and deſtroyed.

Upon

Upon their approach to Werdenberg, they were met by a troop of peaſants, who hailed the renowned deſcendant of their former lords, with ſhouts of triumph. Delighted with the expreſſions of gratitude, which flowed from the artleſs zeal of theſe ſimple people, and which bore more honorable teſtimony to the virtues of his anceſtors, than all the ſtudied epitaphs which flattery ever dictated, Rudolph thanked them for their attachment and fidelity, in the honeſt language of a friend. But, at the ſame time, ſignified a wiſh of reſigning all his hereditary honors to his younger brother, and of paſſing the remainder of his days among that gallant people, with whoſe happineſs he had aſſociated his own. For having now accuſtomed himſelf to the pleaſures and habits of a paſtoral life, ſcenes of grandeur and magnificence had loſt their charms.

Soon, however, he diſcovered, that a ſeries of uninterrupted ſucceſs had vitiated the minds of the Appenzellers, and awakened them to views of intereſt and ambition, he grew diſguſted at the change, and angry with mankind, whoſe brighteſt qualities are ſo tranſient and fortuitous. Leaving the partners of his glory, he retired to a cottage, ſituated among his favorite mountains, and united to one of the heroines of Stoſs, he paſſed the remnant of his days in the enjoyment of conſcious integrity,

tegrity, and ſpotleſs fame, reſpected and beloved by all the world.

Soon after the reduction of Werdenberg, the victorious Appenzellers, accompanied by their friends of St. Gall, made an irruption into the Thurgau, and deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles belonging to the partiſans of the houſe of Auſtria. From thence, having croſſed the Linth, they advanced towards the lake of Zuric, and made themſelves maſters of the vale of Wagi, and the lower marſh. This fruitful tract of land, on account of it's ſituation, was of peculiar importance both to Schweitz and Glaris, in time of war. The victors, therefore, generouſly beſtowed it upon them, as a mark of gratitude, for the great, and early ſervices, which they had afforded. During this expedition, they paſſed unmoleſted through the territory of Toggenbourg, although the count was at that very time at the head of the Auſtrian army. Meanwhile the conduct of the Schweitzers, in accepting, under any circumſtances, a province belonging to Auſtria, which they had done with reſpect to the lower marſh, was repreſented, by Frederic, to be an infringement of the treaty; and a complaint was accordingly made to the other cantons. Unable to defend the meaſure, and unwilling to renounce the prize, the Schweitzers embraced that profligate ſyſtem of injuſtice, which too

too often forms the characteriſtic feature of a republican government, and boldly invited the other members of the confederacy to ſhare with them in the ſpoil. Prudence, however, for once got the better of intereſt; and the apprehenſion of a war with Auſtria induced them to decline an offer, which had otherwiſe much to recommend it. Yet had they not the ſpirit to act as became a people who aimed at the reputation of virtue, but contenting themſelves with the equivocal honeſty of rejecting that which they had no right to appropriate, they connived at the injuſtice of their ally, and ſuffered the Schweitzers to remain in tranquil poſſeſſion of their uſurpation.

1406. Early in the following ſpring, the Appenzellers undertook another expedition againſt the Auſtrian territory; during which they took Feldkirk, burnt Montfort, deſtroyed the town of Toſters, and laid ſiege to Pludenz. Conſcious, however, from their own feelings, that all ideas of reſtriction are repugnant to the nature of man, they adopted a ſyſtem, by far the moſt dangerous to the tranquillity of all ſocial inſtitutions, that the genius of wickedneſs has ever deviſed. Subſtituting the appellation of *deliverers* for that of *conquerors*, they impudently declared, that the object of their purſuit was not to reduce the neighboring provinces under their own dominion, but to liberate them from the ſhackles of feudal ty-

ranny. Man is the ſlave of impreſſions. The fiction, however groſs, ſucceeded. Wherever they directed their deſtructive courſe, they were received with open arms by the deluded people. While every mandate, however abſolute, was ſubmitted to with implicit deference, becauſe delivered in the captivating language of fraternal advice.

While they were laying before Pludenz, intelligence was brought, that the inhabitants, in many parts of the Tyrol, had riſen in arms, and waited only for their charitable ſuccor, to ſhake off every veſtige of ſubordination to the eſtabliſhed government. No ſooner were they informed that theſe happy mountaineers were ripe for the great work of regeneration, than they diſpatched a meſſenger to Appenzel, with the following addreſs, in which the enthuſiaſm of liberty, and the cant, which ſometimes accompanies it, are equally conſpicuous. "We are before Pludenz, and God is with us. If "there be any of our brave countrymen, whoſe "preſence is not neceſſary for the ſupport of an "aged parent, let him inſtantly join our ſtandard, "and ſhare with us in the unexampled glory of "giving liberty to the Tyroleſe."

The natural hiſtory of the Tyrol is ſo familiar to every reader of taſte and obſervation, that all further deſcription is unneceſſary. We ſhall therefore

fore content ourſelves with obſerving, that as the moral character of man is, in a great degree, determined by the nature of the country which he inhabits, ſo we find that the natives of the higher Alps are in general diſtinguiſhed by thoſe bold, and ſtriking features, which are more frequently the objects of our admiration, than of our love. The Auſtrian princes, who were perfectly acquainted with all the value of this important province, had ever treated the Tyroleſe with marked affection, and had met in return with that fidelity and attachment, which is the nobleſt eulogium a ſovereign can receive. Subjects of diſcontent muſt, however, occaſionally ariſe, even in the beſt conſtituted governments; and that the dominion of Auſtria was not of this deſcription, the ſpecimens we have already produced will amply atteſt.

Frederic was no ſooner apprized of the intentions of the Appenzellers, than he collected all his veteran troops, and marched to Landeck, to defend that ſtrong and important paſs. But ſucceſs had taught the enemy to be irreſiſtible. After a ſevere conflict, the Auſtrians gave way, and left the Tyrol open to invaſion. Preceded by the fame of their exploits, and the poiſon of their principles, the march of the republican forces exhibited one continued ſcene of triumph. Feſtivals were every where prepared to celebrate their arrival.

The echoing hills repeated the cry of liberty, while the deluded people perſuaded themſelves that they were free. Indeed, with ſuch rapidity were they proceeding in the romantic taſk of giving liberty to mankind, that it would be difficult to fix any probable bounds to their career, had they not been ſuddenly recalled to the defence of their native land, which ſeems to have been entirely forgotten amid the ſplendid viſions in which they were engaged.

Alarmed at the danger to which their country was expoſed, they haſtened to her relief with ſurpriſing celerity. But no ſooner had they croſſed the Arlenberg, than the impending ſtorm was diſſipated. The terror of their arms added to the diſunion which prevailed among their foes, effected the delivery of Appenzel, without the aſſiſtance of the ſword. Theſe expeditions, undertaken with raſhneſs, were uſually abandoned with diſhonor. Satisfied for the preſent with the laurels which they had acquired, the victorious band returned once more to their accuſtomed labors. The booty they brought back was conſiderable; and might have been infinitely more ſo, had they not rejected with diſdain every article, which was not uſeful in domeſtic economy. Plate, with many other valuables, they had diſtributed with the liberality of ſavages, or the wiſdom of philoſophers, for in this

this inſtance, there is little difference, declaring, *that milk and wine taſted ſweeteſt out of wooden bowls.* But the banners, which they had conquered, were preſerved with religious veneration, as a public treaſure, which formed at once the pride and the ornament of the community.

1407. The Appenzellers had been too long accuſtomed to the licentious tumult of a military life, to feel a reliſh for the tranquil pleaſures of domeſtic retirement, which conſtituted the chief happineſs of their exiſtence in the days of innocence and repoſe. To a people deſirous of making war, the pretence for doing it is never wanting. Taking arms, therefore, they ſignified their intention of reſtoring the abbot to his monaſtery, from which he had now been abſent near ſeven years; and compelling him to reſume thoſe functions, which, as a miniſter of the goſpel, he was bound to perform. Being joined by reinforcements from St. Gall, Glaris, and Schweitz, they ſet forward upon this holy miſſion. Without oppoſition, they arrived before the walls of Wyl, where they pitched their camp. The inhabitants, warned by the calamities of other towns, which had ſuffered ſeverely for their obſtinacy, evinced but little inclination to defend themſelves. So that the unfortunate abbot, left to his cruel deſtiny, and conſcious how little he had a right to expect from

the moderation of men to whom he had given ſuch juſt cauſe of offence, abandoned himſelf to a thouſand fears, which were not a little encreaſed by a meſſage from the burghers, deſiring him to treat, and which was delivered in language not very remote from a command. But Cuno ſhewing ſome heſitation in complying, a ſhort conference took place, between them and the army, the reſult of which was, that the gates were thrown open upon a promiſe that property of all kinds ſhould be preſerved.

Cuno was now apprized, that it was the intention of his ſubjects to conduct him to his proper reſidence. No choice was left him. The tone was peremptory, and all reſiſtance vain. Recommending himſelf, therefore, to the protection of all the heavenly hoſt, and invoking individually the whole tribe of ſaints and martyrs, his arms meekly folded acroſs his breaſt, his eyes caſt down in ſorrow, and humiliation, he preſented himſelf, in a ſuppliant poſture, before thoſe very men, whom, for the ſpace of twenty-eight years, he had regarded only in the light of ſlaves. His head was grey and uncovered, his figure emaciated, his ſtep uncertain. Adverſity too had ſo humbled the natural haughtineſs of his character, while age gave a dignity to his ſorrows, that he no ſooner appeared, than a ſpontaneous emotion of piety burſt

burſt from the ſpectators, and proved, that all the violence of faction had not yet eradicated ſympathy from their breaſts. Worked upon by the impulſe of the moment, they felt inclined to conſider their degraded prince rather as the weak tool of other men's ambition, than as himſelf the tyrant—rather as being deceived, than deceiving. Some indeed there were, who looked upon compaſſion for fallen greatneſs as below the ſtoic dignity of a republican; but the indignation of the multitude ſoon curbed their licentious tongues, and taught them that it is unworthy courage to inſult a vanquiſhed foe. With reſpectful attention they placed the abbot upon his mule, and conducted him to the monaſtery; where a treaty was concluded, which was probably dictated rather by neceſſity than inclination; but by which he placed himſelf and his remaining territory, under the protection of that very people, whom he had ſo long treated as rebels, and wiſhed to exterminate as ſuch.

Elated with their unexampled good fortune, and deſirous of retaliating upon the duke of Auſtria for the decided part that he had taken in ſupport of the eccleſiaſtical privileges, they entered Thurgau with a body of two thouſand men, menaced Conſtance, and laid waſte the epiſcopal territory. For the biſhop, having lately put them under an interdict, had thereby incurred their

diſpleaſure, for which they now reſolved to inflict an exemplary puniſhment. From thence directing their courſe towards Kyburg, they levied contributions wherever they came, deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles, belonging to barons of the adverſe party, and compelled their haughty chiefs to ſubſcribe to ſuch conditions as they, in the plenitude of uncontrouled ſucceſs, thought proper to impoſe.

The alarm, occaſioned by this rapid progreſs, became univerſal. Many of the nobles, who were already exhauſted by the burdens of former wars, and trembled at the increaſing calamities, which ſeemed now to threaten them, were happy in an opportunity of parting with their eſtates upon eaſy terms. While Zuric, ever awake to it's real intereſts, caught with eagerneſs at the offer. Beſides, ſeveral of the Auſtrian towns, particularly Bulach, Regenſberg, and Winterthur, now abandoned entirely to their own reſources, and deſpairing of being able to reſiſt the approaching ſtorm, turned their eyes to Zuric for ſupport, hoping, by an alliance with that wealthy city, to ſhelter themſelves under her protecting arm. Mortified that ſo valuable a prize ſhould have eſcaped them, and deſirous, at the ſame time, of conciliating the good opinion of the Helvetic confederacy, the Appenzellers gave way to a ſpirit of violence, which was unworthy their former character, and laid waſte the

the whole country with unrelenting cruelty. In the midſt of theſe deſtructive triumphs, a report reached them, that a large body of Auſtrians had croſſed the Rhine at Shauffhauſen, and was advancing towards the frontier of Appenzel. Without a moment's heſitation they abandoned their conqueſts, and haſtened to meet them, with a firm reſolution of giving them battle, wherever they ſhould be found. But this expedition, like moſt of thoſe which were undertaken againſt the liberties of Switzerland, was either planned with ſo little intelligence, or entruſted to the conduct of ſo inexperienced a chief, that the army had repaſſed the Rhine, before the Appenzellers could come up with it.

The winter was now approaching, and ſet in with unuſual rigor. But as it appeared probable that the enemy, who were at no time remarkable for vigilance, would now abandon themſelves entirely to the ſecurity of the ſeaſon, they reſolved to attempt one bold enterpriſe more, before they retired to winter quarters. Taking advantage, therefore, of a deep ſnow, they croſſed the lake of Conſtance, and appeared on a ſudden before the town of Bregentz. Their principal hope of ſucceſs was founded upon the negligence of the garriſon, which they well knew not to be numerous. The Auſtrians, however, were not ſo careleſs,

leſs as they expected them to be, but received them in ſuch a manner as to prove that they could not be taken by ſurprize. Though foiled in their firſt attempt, they were not to be overcome by difficulties, but determined, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, to ſet down before the place, and to reduce it by a regular ſiege. So daring an attempt upon a town of ſuch importance, which was ſituated in the midſt of an enemy's country, appeared to the adjacent nobles an act of ſuch temerity, as would caſt an eternal blot upon their military reputation, ſhould they allow the invaders to ſucceed. They accordingly reſolved to omit no effort, which could
1408. tend to fruſtrate the deſign; and having aſſembled an army of eight thouſand men, and croſſed the lake in a thick fog, they fell unexpectedly upon the beſiegers. The ſuperiority of numbers was ſo great, that no efforts of valor could avail. The Appenzellers were completely routed after the firſt ſhock, and obliged to fly in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving every thing behind them, except their banner.

The force of the Appenzellers being, in a great degree, founded upon opinion, this defeat was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. Several towns, which had united themſelves with this victorious people from motives of fear, no ſooner beheld

held this ſad reverſe of fortune, than they embraced the earlieſt opportunity of apologizing for their defection, by a ſpeedy return to duty. They themſelves too had been ſo long accuſtomed to an uninterrupted career of victory, that the dejection occaſioned by this momentary viciſſitude, was great beyond credibility. The time ſeemed favorable for negociation, and was accordingly ſeized upon by Rupert, who now occupied the imperial throne, to which he had ſucceeded in 1400, upon the depoſition of Wenceſlaus, one of the moſt profligate and contemptible princes, who ever diſgraced a crown. Having previouſly arranged the general outlines of a treaty, he ſummoned the contending parties to ſend deputies to Conſtance. To this the duke of Auſtria and his adherents readily conſented. The Appenzellers too acceded without much difficulty, having received a ſecret intimation from their friends, the Schweitzers, to conſent to the propoſal, as the other cantons ſeemed firmly determined not to interfere in their favor.

The delegates being aſſembled, Rupert ſeverely reprimanded thoſe of St. Gall and Appenzel, for their contumacious behavior to their lawful ſovereign, who, as a prince of the empire, was entitled to the profoundeſt reſpect. He then proceeded to annul their alliance, pronouncing it to be contrary to the prerogatives of the church, and ſubverſive

ſubverſive of that allegiance which they owed to the imperial crown. He further decreed, that all the priſoners, which had been made on either ſide, ſhould be releaſed without ranſom, and the conquered territory reſtored to the legitimate owner; but that none of the fortreſſes, which had been demoliſhed, ſhould be rebuilt without *his* expreſs permiſſion. The Appenzellers, on their part, obtained abſolution from all eccleſiaſtical interdicts, and civil bans; and a truce for two years was eſtabliſhed between them and the duke of Auſtria, leaving all diſputed claims, even thoſe of the count of Werdenberg, open for future diſcuſſion.

Thus ended the war between the Appenzellers and the partiſans of ariſtocracy, which, from the miſconduct of the latter, had well nigh excited a general inſurrection of the people againſt the tyranny of the feudal government.

Several points in diſpute having been referred to a future diſcuſſion, the emperor ſummoned the contending parties to appear before him, at Heidelberg. To this the abbot readily conſented; but the Appenzellers were too well acquainted with the real value of liberty, to ſet it upon ſo precarious a caſt. The emperor, however, irritated at the neglect which was thus ſhewn, by a band of rebellious

rebellious peaſants, to his ſupreme authority, proceeded to paſs ſentence upon them, as contumacious, according to the eſtabliſhed forms of juriſprudence. But they had already proceeded too far, to be awed into ſubmiſſion by an act, the terrors of which were merely ideal. So that inſtead of manifeſting the ſmalleſt inclination to yield, they did not heſitate to declare their firm determination of defending their liberties to the laſt extremity. Little, indeed, could it be expected, that a people, who were once engaged in ſo honorable a cauſe, ſhould tamely forego every advantage which they had purchaſed at the expence of their deareſt blood, and return, without an effort, to the degrading ſtate of vaſſalage. It was the height of imbecility to ſuppoſe it. For as well may deſpotiſm attempt to control the raging billows, or to ſet bounds to the flowing tide, as imagine that the ferment of the public mind will ſubſide at it's imperious mandate. The ſtorm, once raiſed, defies the power of man.

1410. The Appenzellers ſtill continuing to perſiſt in their refuſal to reſtore the Reinthal to the houſe of Auſtria, the truce was no ſooner expired, than the latter prepared to take poſſeſſion of it by force of arms. For this purpoſe, the count of Sultz aſſembled ſo conſiderable a force, that the enemy no longer ventured to quit their frontier, but

but preferred rather to abandon the garriſon of Rheineck to their fate, than to expoſe themſelves to the riſk, which muſt neceſſarily attend any attempt to relieve them. The certainty of their abandoned ſtate was far, however, from reducing theſe gallant men to deſperation; on the contrary, they reſolved that nothing ſhould be left untried, before they gave themſelves up as priſoners of war. For this purpoſe, they made their diſpoſitions in ſuch a manner, that they led Sultz to ſuppoſe that they were preparing for a ſally, in order, if poſſible, to cut their way through his lines. Impreſſed with this idea, he thought it prudent to retire to a more advantageous poſition, at a little diſtance from the walls, where the enemy could not attack him without the moſt evident riſk. This was exactly what the garriſon expected. No ſooner, therefore, had the Auſtrians fallen back, than availing themſelves of the moment, they ſet fire to the town, and eſcaping through another gate, gained ſo much upon the beſiegers, that they reached the frontier of Appenzel without ſuffering the ſmalleſt loſs.

Encouraged by this momentary reverſe of fortune, Frederic put himſelf at the head of an army of twelve thouſand men, and ſat down before the town of Alſtetten, which was defended only by a handful of Appenzellers. But ſuch was the negligence of the beſiegers, that they ſuffered both the

the garriſon and the inhabitants to eſcape, in the night, with their moſt valuable effects; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, they ſeem to have been totally ignorant of what had happened. The duke, indignant that ſo ſmall a force ſhould preſume to hold out againſt his powerful army, iſſued orders for a general aſſault, declaring his intention of giving no quarter to the garriſon. Preparations were accordingly made, and the Auſtrians advanced to the walls, aſtoniſhed at meeting with no reſiſtance. But upon entering the town, they found, to their extreme mortification, that nothing was left for them but empty houſes, which, in the violence of their reſentment, they inſtantly conſigned to the flames. Satisfied with this glorious exploit, Frederic now repaſſed the Rhine, not daring to venture any further into a country, where he had ſo often ſuffered for his temerity.

1411. In the following year died the unfortunate Cuno, worn out with age and diſappointment. The Appenzellers availed themſelves of this event to renew their application to the confederates, to be admitted into the Helvetic league. And as at that time, the Helvetic cantons were far from being ſatisfied with the conduct of the duke of Auſtria, their requeſt now met with a more favorable reception. But as a people of ſo turbulent a diſpoſition might have involved the confederacy

confederacy in continual wars, it was expreſsly ſtipulated in the treaty, that the Appenzellers ſhould never take up arms without the approbation of their allies. By another article, it was enacted that the *whole forces* of Appenzel were at all times to be at the diſpoſal of the confederates, and to march *whenever* and *wherever* they were required, at *their own expence*; while they, on their part, were *to be ſatisfied with whatever reinforcements the united cantons might find it convenient to ſpare*, and were alſo bound to *ſupply them with proviſions, and other neceſſaries*, during the whole of the expedition.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIII.

Internal Affairs of Switzerland—Acquiſitions made by the different Cantons—The Swiſs carry their Arms beyond the St. Gothard—Diſputes with the Duke of Milan—Death of Rupert—Sigiſmund Emperor—Corruptions of the Papal Government—Origin of the Hierarchy—Council of Piſa.

THE deſire of connecting our ſubject under one general point of view, has induced us to occupy ourſelves ſolely with the affairs of Appenzel, to the total neglect of the reſt of Switzerland. This naturally obliges us to return back for a few years, that we may take a view of the conduct and policy of the confederates during the memorable conteſt between the Appenzellers and the houſe of Auſtria.

None of the members of the federative government were ſo opportunely ſituated as Zuric, to take advantage of the general confuſion. And with ſuch prudence did this artful people contrive to regulate their meaſures, that they not only reaped the greateſt poſſible benefit from the diſ-

treſſes of Auſtria, but did it without any infringement of the truce. For ſuch was the dread of an army, whoſe avowed object was the overthrow of all feudal tyranny, that many of the moſt powerful barons, convinced of their inability to reſiſt the approaching ſtorm, were happy to diſpoſe of their eſtates and caſtles for a very moderate price; while the Zurickers, who were never neglectful of any circumſtance, which could contribute to their future proſperity, were eager to embrace this favorable opportunity of extending their juriſdiction upon ſuch eaſy terms.

A diſpute too having ariſen, between them and the biſhop of Conſtance, about the caſtle of Rheinfeldt, which this needy prelate had mortgaged to the republic, the biſhop, unaccuſtomed to oppoſition, reſolved to have recourſe to more efficacious meaſures than thoſe of negociation. A detachment of the epiſcopal troops accordingly took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, which was but ſlightly guarded. The ill-adviſed prelate, however, ſoon found ample cauſe to repent his raſhneſs; for the Zurickers, entering his territory in hoſtile array, conſtrained him to purchaſe peace, upon conditions by no means agreeable to epiſcopal pride. Various other differences of a ſimilar nature were terminated in a manner equally ſatisfactory, and contributed eſſentially to extend the dominion of

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the republic on the ſide of Kyburg and the Thurgau.

While the Zurickers were thus engaged in the purſuits of intereſt and ambition, the Auſtrians, availing themſelves of the truce, which ſtill ſubſiſted between them and the Appenzellers, made an attempt upon the town of Bâle. A violent diſpute had for ſome time ſubſiſted, between the inhabitants of this latter city and the ducheſs of Burgundy, who was the widow of Leopold the fourth, duke of Auſtria, with regard to the bounbaries of their reſpective territories. Frederic, to whom the adminiſtration of his deceaſed brother's dominions was committed, during his nephew's minority, reſolved to take an active part in the conteſt, and accordingly gave orders to the count of Sultz, to unite his forces with thoſe of the ducheſs. But the Auſtrian army was no ſooner in motion, than the duke's intentions became apparent; upon which Zuric, Berne, Soleure, and Straſburg, immediately ſent reinforcements to the defence of Bâle.

While both parties were thus preparing for hoſtilities, an ineffectual effort was made, by the duke of Bavaria, to bring about a reconciliation; but neither party was as yet ſufficiently cool to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon.

1409. The republican forces firſt took the field, and penetrating into the Briſgau, laid waſte the country with unrelenting ſeverity. The Auſtrians, on their part, were not behind hand in acts of cruelty. Thus, while the miſerable peaſants were inhumanly ſacrificed to their mutual animoſities, nothing material was effected on either ſide.

Still, however, the elector of Bavaria was not diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his former negociation, but perſevered in his benevolent attempts, till he at length prevailed upon the belligerent powers to conſent to a truce, for the ſpace of one year, which was ſhortly after followed by a peace, upon conditions extremely favorable to Bâle.*

This reconciliation, on both ſides, appears to have been ſincere. Indeed, in a few months after the treaty was ſigned, we find the ducheſs cementing the alliance by many additional clauſes, all of which tended to unite the two ſtates by the ſtricteſt bonds of amity. So perfect too was the harmony which ſubſiſted between them, that in a conteſt with ſome of the neighboring barons, the ducheſs reaped the moſt material advantage from the co-

* By this treaty the caſtles of Stein, near Rheinfeld, of Rheineck, and Altenſtein, were ceded to Bâle. The former, however, was afterwards given back for a ſum of money.

operation

operation of the Bâlers. During one of theſe deſultory expeditions, they made themſelves maſters of the caſtles of Neuenſtein, Blauenſtein and Furſtenſtein, and having found the deſpotic lords ſhut up within their fortreſſes, they cauſed them, together with the whole garriſon, to be beheaded, on a platform before the very gates of their own caſtles.

Notwithſtanding the heavy loſſes, which they had ſuſtained, from the late conflagration, the Berners appear never to have been deficient in reſources, when the aggrandiſement of the republic was in queſtion. Thus by purchaſe, they became poſſeſſed of Simmeneck, in the vale of Siben; of Manneberg and Reutlingen, of Signau, Frutigen, Wangen, Trachſelwald, at Hutweil. Beſides theſe, they bought, in conjunction with Soleure, the caſtles of Bechburg, Fridau, Bipp, Erliſburg, and Wietliſbach.*

Much about the ſame time, the town of Neuchatel being involved in a diſpute with Conrad, count of Friburg, both parties had recourſe to the powerful protection of Berne, and were admitted

* In the ſequel a partition took place, by which Bipp, Erliſburg, Fridau, and Wietliſbach, became the excluſive property of the Berners; Beckberg alone remained to Soleure.

to the honor of co-burgherſhip by that republic. Conrad was the ſon of Verena, daughter of Lewis, count of Neuchatel; who in conjunction with her ſiſter, the counteſs of Nidau, had inherited the county of Neuchatel, upon the death of her father, who died without male iſſue.

Conrad, who was himſelf a man of a weak underſtanding, and was governed by perſons little wiſer than himſelf, was imprudent enough to attempt the reſumption of ſeveral grants, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, which had been made by his predeceſſors. It was pretended by the friends of the count, that a power of redemption had been reſerved, at the time theſe grants were made. But be this as it may, the act itſelf could not fail to prove unpopular, and was therefore unwiſe. For it is a maxim, which ſhould be ever preſent to the recollection of thoſe who are entruſted with the government of nations, that whatever is rigidly juſt in point of law, is not always practicable.

The haughty canons were no ſooner acquainted with the plan in agitation, than they were, with reaſon, alarmed for their temporalities. By their ſecret inſtigations a ſpirit of diſaffection was diſſeminated among the burghers, who were taught to believe that this was only a prelude to acts of ſtill greater injuſtice. A general remonſtrance

ſtrance was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to the count. But Conrad remaining inflexible, application was made to the ſenate of Berne, who immediately took the petitioners under their protection. Finding that nothing was to be obtained by ſeverity, Conrad, availing himſelf of the example which had been ſet him by his rebellious ſubjects, demanded to be received a co-burgher alſo, and ſubmitted the whole affair to the deciſion of the republic.

The intereſted ambition of the Berners was delighted at an event which promiſed ſo favorable an iſſue. It afforded a fair opportunity for the ſenators to diſplay their dexterity in negociation; and with ſuch ingenuity and artifice did they actually conduct themſelves, that they henceforth obtained a paramount juriſdiction in all diſputes between the count and his vaſſals; while as a mark of ſuperiority, they required an annual tribute, trifling, indeed, in point of value, but ſtill of infinite importance, from the prerogatives with which it was accompanied.

The deciſion of the ſenate not proving ſo favorable to the pretenſions of the clergy, as they vainly flattered themſelves it would, they now reſorted to an artifice of another kind, and produced an inſtrument with the ſignature of the late count, by

which they were entirely enfranchiſed from all feudal juriſdiction. The deed, however, having been proved, upon minute inveſtigation, to have been ſuppoſitious, the authors of the forgery, notwithſtanding their ſacred function, ſuffered death upon a ſcaffold.

The countenance and ſupport ſo liberally given, by the Helvetic ſtates, to all who implored their aid, was productive of continual diſturbances, and operated, in many caſes, as a powerful incentive to rebellion. The following anecdote will ſufficiently manifeſt the truth of the foregoing remark. Hugh of Mumpelgard, lord of Oltingen, had long treated his vaſſals with ſeverity. Accuſtomed to implicit ſubmiſſion, and taught from their cradles, to conſider their princes as the immediate delegates of heaven, nothing probably would have been further from their thoughts, than to reſiſt the vicegerent of the Almighty, had they not been inſtigated to it by the ſecret emiſſaries of Berne, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſcatter the ſeeds of inſubordination in every ſoil which was proper to receive them. Encouraged by the promiſe of ſupport, the peaſants flew to arms, and having taken the caſtle by ſtorm, they razed it to the ground, having firſt barbarouſly murdered the count. The count of Savoy, who was a relation of the deceaſed, no ſooner learnt his melancholy deſtiny, than he ſent an

an embaſſy to Berne, to complain of this treacherous and diſhonorable conduct, and publicly to accuſe the ſenate of being the authors of it. The government had nothing left but poſitively to deny the charge, and to prepare for war, which now ſeemed inevitable. Hoſtilities were, however, prevented, by the timely interference of the count of Neuchatel, and an amicable arrangement took place; by which the town of Oltingen was ceded to the republic, upon the payment of a ſtipulated ſum to the widowed counteſs. Thus is money the univerſal agent in all political tranſactions! The ties of conſanguinity, the laws of honor, the ſtrict principles of juſtice, all, alas! are ſacrificed at the inſatiate ſhrine of intereſt.

Hitherto, we have contemplated the Swiſs under circumſtances the moſt flattering to their national character. We have beheld them waging an unequal, though ſucceſsful war, againſt the whole power of Auſtria, in defence of their independance, and exhibiting to the world a memorable example of the inefficacy of military force, when a long ſeries of injuries have kindled the reſentment of mankind, and awakened them to a ſenſe of their inherent rights. But ſucceſs is the parent of ambition; and ſo inſatiable is the thirſt after dominion, that every proſperous enterprize operates as a freſh incentive to new undertakings.

It

It was thus with the Swiſs. The boundaries, which nature ſeems to have traced, with a diſcriminating hand, as the limits of Helvetic power, appeared now too confined for the aſpiring genius of a people, who were taught, by repeated triumphs, to conſider fortune as irrevocably chained to the republican car.

On the ſouthern ſide of the St. Gothard lies the Levantine valley, a picturesque and beautiful country, watered by the abundant ſtreams of the Ticino, which derives it's ſource from the inexhauſtible ſnows, that cover the craggy ſummits of the parent mountain. Immediately after their emancipation, the Urners had attempted to prevail upon the peaceful inhabitants of this romantic diſtrict, to burſt the ſhackles of feudal dependance, and to partake with them in the bleſſings of liberty. The propoſal was too tempting to be rejected; but before they returned a deciſive anſwer, they requeſted time to conſult with the canons of Milan, who poſſeſſed a paramount juriſdiction over that country. Accuſtomed to govern with a lenient hand, and happy in every occaſion which could contribute to the happineſs of others, theſe humane and benevolent prieſts were ſo delighted with the mark of confidence which had been ſhewn them, that they readily conſented to the projected alliance. But the adjacent nobles, many of

of whom pretended to equal authority with the chapter of Milan, beheld the tranſaction in a very different light. So long as they were ſeparated from the rebellious Swiſs by the majeſtic Alps, they ſaw but little to apprehend; but the near approach of a people, whoſe cry was freedom, ſtruck them with terror and diſmay. The precarious fabric of their power ſeemed now to totter on it's very baſe. With common accord they embraced the reſolution of carrying on a deſultory war againſt the inhabitants of the Levantine vale, and of haraſſing them, by continual incurſions, till they conſented to break off all connection with their new allies. Theſe petty hoſtilities conſiſted chiefly in attempts to carry away the cattle from the lower Alps, and were productive of frequent ſkirmiſhes, which ſeldom terminated without bloodſhed.

Among the moſt violent opponents of republican principles was the lord of Bellinzona; who was, at this time, in cloſe alliance with the duke of Milan, by whom he was powerfully abetted in all his enterprizes againſt the cauſe of freedom.

1410. A party of ſoldiers, belonging to ſome of the petty tyrants who infeſted the country between Lombardy and the Alps, having ſucceeded in carrying off a conſiderable number of cattle, the

the cantons of Uri and Unterwalden ſent immediately to demand ſatisfaction. But having received no ſatisfactory anſwer from the authors of the theft, they addreſſed themſelves to the duke of Milan, and the count of Savoy, as joint ſovereigns of the vale of Oſſola. By the firſt, they were treated with that equivocal tone of courteſy, which is the characteriſtic of duplicity, and which ſeems indigenous to the Italian ſoil. By the latter, they were received with coldneſs, and diſmiſſed without redreſs. But the confederates were not of a temper to content themſelves with the inſidious ſmiles of the one, nor with the contemptuous carriage of the other. Inflamed with reſentment, they aſſembled an army of between three and four thouſand men, and marched directly to Domo d'Oſſola, the moſt conſiderable place in the whole diſtrict. The town was in no ſituation to defend itſelf, but ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The confederates, therefore, having occupied themſelves for a few days in municipal arrangements, and appointed a governor, returned to their native mountains. But no ſooner had they retired, than the duke of Milan again took poſſeſſion of it, though he kept it but a ſhort time, as it was retaken by the Swiſs in the courſe of a few months. In this kind of deſultory warfare, hoſtilities were carried on for the ſpace of three years; at which period a council, aſſembling at

Conſtance, gave a different bent to the public mind, and obliged the Swiſs, for ſome time at leaſt, to renounce all plans of conqueſt on the ſide of Italy.

We have already ſeen how much the wars, in which the Appenzellers were engaged, had contributed to widen the ancient breach between the confederates and the houſe of Auſtria. Events too were daily happening which ſerved to add fuel to the flame, while each party was endeavoring to fortify itſelf by new alliances.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the death of Rupert threatened Germany with freſh convulſions, and opened a new ſcene to exerciſe the reſtleſs genius of Frederic. He accordingly laid aſide, for the preſent, all ideas of interrupting the internal repoſe of Helvetia. On the contrary, he now attempted, by every demonſtration of friendſhip, to appeaſe the ſtorm; and ſucceeded ſo far in his endeavors, that the truce was again protracted for the ſpace of fifty years.

Two competitors had declared their intention of diſputing the imperial crown, beſides the wretched Wenceſlaus, who ſtill exiſted an object of contempt and terror to all who approached him. The voices of the electors being divided, two emperors were

were raiſed to the vacant throne; Jodocus, or Job, marquis of Moravia, and Sigiſmund, the brother of Wenceſlaus. But the former dying within three months after his election, his rival remained undiſputed maſter of the imperial dignity.

Sigiſmund, though poſſeſſed of no extraordinary talents, was endued by nature with every external accompliſhment which can command reſpect; and being a critical obſerver of all thoſe punctilious forms, which impoſe upon vulgar minds, obtained a degree of conſideration from his contemporaries, to which his abilities by no means entitled him. His character, naturally ſerious, had led him to the ſtudy of religious ſubjects; and being ſtruck with the diſorders which prevailed in the church, he figured to himſelf a reign of glory, and a crown of immortality, could he but ſucceed in reſtoring unity to the chriſtian world. With this intent he ſet out for
1413. Italy, in order to ſettle with the pope, John XXIII., the convocation of a general council. In a conference, held at Lodi, the pontiff was at length prevailed upon, after employing every ſubterfuge which his crooked politics could ſuggeſt, to fix upon Conſtance for this important purpoſe. He then parted from the emperor, who, delighted with the ſucceſs of his negociation, returned to Germany, over the St. Bernard, and having

having honored Berne with his preſence, proceeded from thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he received the imperial crown from the hands of the archbiſhop of Cologne.

1414. The council of Conſtance forms a memorable epocha in modern hiſtory; and as the influence of this celebrated aſſembly extended not only over the events and characters of thoſe times, but operated powerfully upon the ſucceeding ages, it appears to us to be, by no means, foreign to our ſubject, to enter, with ſome degree of detail, into the preceding hiſtory of the church, and to trace the gradual progreſs of the HIERARCHY from it's firſt inſtitution, to this momentous period, when it ſhone forth in all the pride and oſtentation of royal pomp.

In the early ages of the Chriſtian era, truth was taught, in all it's native ſimplicity, by men who felt the full importance of the doctrines which they preached, and wiſhed, from motives of univerſal benevolence, to impart it's ſalutary light to the blind and ignorant of every nation. No ſplendid ceremonies, no ſtately edifices, no proud diſtinctions, were then employed to recommend a religion which ſpoke directly to the heart, and raiſed our views and wiſhes from this tranſient ſcene to a better and unperiſhable world. No

guile

guile or artifice then impoſed upon the deluded vulgar, and by ſubtle interpretations metamorphoſed the ſimpleſt doctrines into a ſcience of abſtruſe and dangerous ſpeculation. The precepts, which were delivered, were upon a level with the meaneſt apprehenſion. They were pure and perfect as the eſſence of the divinity, and conſiſted in reducing to a practical ſyſtem the ſublimeſt theory of morality.

CHARITY—or to ſpeak in the language of philoſophy—UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE, was the fundamental principle of the goſpel. The young regarded it as an indiſpenſable duty to aſſiſt the aged, the indigent and the infirm; and they, who dedicated their lives excluſively to ſuch ſervices, were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *helpers* or *aſſiſtants*. Theſe progreſſively increaſed, and divided themſelves into ſeparate communities, when the *head* or *overſeer* aſſumed the title of *biſhop*. The functions, which were exerciſed by this latter body of men, gave them conſiderable influence in their reſpective ſocieties, which gradually extended itſelf over a wider ſurface; while love and charity formed a bond of union between the preachers and the hearers of the goſpel.

Such was the origin of the *hierarchy*; an office not only harmleſs and inoffenſive, but productive of

of the moſt ſalutary conſequences, while confined within it's original limits. But ſuch is the weakneſs of human nature, that there are few characters ſufficiently virtuous to withſtand an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity. Thus we find, that within the ſpace of a few centuries, biſhops, archbiſhops, and patriarchs, (the title is immaterial) had thrown aſide every veſtige of that moderation and modeſty, which aſſimilated them to their divine maſter, and had ſubſtituted, in their place, the diſcordant paſſions of ambition, avarice, and pride. Aſſuming to themſelves prerogatives, which had no foundation in holy writ, they aſpired to govern the chriſtian world, in the ſame manner that Aaron, and the houſe of Levi, had governed the Jews; and inſtead of recurring to the primitive church for precedents, they were ever forward to allege the example of that blind and preſumptuous people, in defence of their own uſurpation. No longer confining themſelves to ſpiritual affairs, they now entered with eagerneſs, into all the intrigues of courts, and were occupied in conteſts for worldly grandeurs; till at length uniting the altar to the throne, that monſtrous compact was formed, the ſecret object of which was to overthrow the liberties of mankind, and then to diſpute the ſpoil.

Conſcious, however, that this ſyſtem of tyranny was diametrically repugnant to the humane tenets of that religion, on whoſe perverted principles they aimed to eſtabliſh it, the VOLUME OF TRUTH was carefully concealed from the eyes of the *uninitiated*; and men commanded to obey it's precepts, not according to their original meaning, but from the interpretations which intereſt or ambition found it convenient to give. What a field was here for the diſplay of cunning!

Such too were the ideas of ſanctity, which the fears and prejudices of a miſguided people had attached to the epiſcopal character, that the moſt ferocious conquerors, who ever led the barbarians of the north to the ruin and devaſtation of ſouthern Europe, were awed into reſpect by a mitred prieſt, and liſtened to the admonitions of the clergy, as to the ſacred dictates of oracular truth. The pope, or biſhop of Rome, took advantage of this favorable impreſſion, and availing himſelf of the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the unenlightened victor, eſtabliſhed his throne upon the ruins of Gothic paganiſm. And as the worſhip of the church of Rome was accompanied with ceremonies far more impoſing than the barbarous rites of Thor, or Woden, he experienced but little difficulty in prevailing upon the heroes of Sarmatia,

or

or Scandinavia, to embrace a religion the pageantries of which were ſuperiorly calculated to amuſe the ignorant, and to awe the weak. With rapid ~~ſtrides~~ flight the Roman pontiff now ſoared to univerſal empire. His authority was revered, his infallibility eſtabliſhed, in moſt of thoſe kingdoms, which ſprang out of the chaos of anarchy and conqueſt. However different their laws and cuſtoms might be in ſecular affairs, they ſeem all to have agreed in acknowledging one ſupreme head in religious concerns, whoſe perſon was inviolate, whoſe mandate was law.

Thus, till the commencement of the fourteenth century, the hierarchy flouriſhed with increaſing ſplendor; while Italy and Rome were rendered independant of the eaſtern empire by the brilliant atchievements of the Franks and Normans. Both theſe uncivilized people made uſe of the popes as the inſtruments of their own aggrandizement, while thoſe artful politicians held the balance between them, and managed their own intereſts with ſuch ingenuity, that whichever party triumphed, the church was ſure to be a gainer.

Boniface the eighth, ſupported both his ſpiritual, and temporal authority, with the dignity of a man, who was ſenſible of the full extent of the power with which he was inveſted. Beſides, at

that period, none of the ſovereigns of Europe poſſeſſed either the diſcernment to diſcover, or the courage to oppoſe, the lofty pretenſions of the holy ſee. Superſtition was the moſt prominent feature of the age. The dread of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, with all the fatal conſequences which reſulted from them, operated, with incalculable force, upon the minds of an unenlightened people. No aſſumption of power, however extravagant, experienced the ſlighteſt contradiction. So that the credit, and authority of the ſovereign pontiff continued to increaſe with a degree of rapidity beyond all example. Yet under Boniface himſelf the ediſice began already to totter; and from his time has been gradually on the decay. But if we examine minutely into the cauſes, which wrought this wonderful revolution, we ſhall find, that the decline of papal power may be eaſily accounted for. It is natural enough for the unfortunate of every ſtation, and more particularly ſo for thoſe who are taught to believe themſelves more wiſe, and virtuous than the reſt of mankind, to attribute their ruin to any thing rather than to their own miſconduct. The current of popular opinion, and the temper of the times, are uſually brought forward, to excuſe the vices or follies of thoſe who have fallen from the heights of human grandeur. But they ſeldom operate with the effect which is ſuppoſed. A good government was never

never overthrown; and had the meridian of papal greatneſs been diſtinguiſhed by the ſame prudence and wiſdom, which marked it's infant ſtate, it is far from impoſſible, but that at this very moment, the ſucceſſor of St. Peter might have continued to dictate laws from the Vatican, to the whole chriſtian world.

Since the era of the cruſades the ſituation of the higher claſſes of nobility had materially changed. The expences, incidental to thoſe fatal expeditions —the perpetual wars into which the barons were hurried by the ferocious ſpirit of the times—combining with the coſtly oſtentation of feudal pride, had impaired their fortunes, and diminiſhed their conſequence. While, on the other hand, the regal powers, particularly in France, had riſen upon the ruins of the ariſtocracy.

Notwithſtanding all the miſeries they had occaſioned, and the deluges of blood which they had cauſed to be ſhed, the cruſades had, without diſpute, been productive of conſiderable benefit to the world, by opening a wider field for ſpeculation, and inquiry; and by eradicating ſome of thoſe inveterate prejudices, which are natural to man in an inſulated ſtate. The different ſovereigns of Europe began alſo to view, with a

jealous eye, thoſe prodigious ſums of money, which were drained from every order of their ſubjects, and which were continually flowing into the coffers of the church. The natural conſequence of a nearer inveſtigation of this ſubject, was to render them more ſenſible of the encroachments of the court of Rome, and more impatient under it's control. But the revival of letters was the moſt fatal blow to that corrupt, and corrupting power, whoſe throne was erected upon ignorance, and ſupported by artifice and impoſture. The ſeeds of ſcience, which Frederic the ſecond had tranſplanted from the ſchools of Greece, to enlighten and refine his unpoliſhed countrymen, produced fruits of very different qualities. In the univerſities, to total ignorance, ſucceeded that unintelligible jargon, which, under the pompous title of metaphyſics, was far more calculated to obſcure and miſlead, than to illuminate the intellectual faculties of man. Yet ſtill it ſerved to exerciſe the powers of reflection, and may in that reſpect at leaſt, be conſidered as a ſtep towards improvement. Among the other claſſes of ſociety, a ſpirit of inquiry was daily gaining ground. Their language was purified by an acquaintance with the claſſic writings of antiquity, while new ideas of freedom were imparted to mankind from the ſame prolific ſource.

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In proportion as the human genius was fortified by ſtudy and reflection, it aſſumed a bolder tone, and painted the views and corruptions of the court of Rome in all their native deformity. Among the writers of this deſcription, Petrarch was eminently diſtinguiſhed by the keenneſs of his ſatire, which contributed not a little to open the eyes of his contemporaries to the diſſolute and abandoned conduct of men, who had aſſumed to themſelves the proud diſtinction of the vicegerents of heaven upon earth.

Philip *le bel*, king of France, who had perhaps a ſtill better claim to the title of *bold*, ſince none of his predeceſſors had ever made ſo free with the property of other men, was engaged in a violent diſpute with Boniface the eighth, in conſequence of the protection which he afforded to the Colonna family, when expelled from Rome by the papal faction. In the violence of his wrath, the indignant pontiff diſpatched a legate to Paris, to inſult the king to his face. But Philip was not of a temper tamely to put up with an affront. He accordingly, without heſitation, committed the legate to cloſe confinement, and gave orders to Revel, his miniſter at Rome, to demand ſatisfaction of the pope for the indignity which had been offered him. Boniface, who was highly exaſperated at the oppoſition which he experienced, began to

threaten France with excommunication, and boaſted of his paramount juriſdiction over all the princes in the chriſtian world. To this Revel calmly replied: "Holy father, you ſeem to forget that your "weapons exiſt only *in idea*, whereas thoſe of the "king, my maſter, are *made of tempered ſteel.*"—Philip, however, had recourſe to other meaſures more efficacious than ridicule; and having employed ſome of the Colonna party to arreſt the pope, at Anagni, the mortification that he underwent, and the harſh treatment that he met with, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon his haughty and implacable temper, that he is ſaid to have expired in a paroxyſm of rage.

Benedict the eleventh, who ſucceeded, reigned only a few months, when Philip, by his intrigues and influence, prevailed upon the cardinals to raiſe Bertrand de Got, a Gaſcon, to the vacant throne, who took the name of Clement V. Devoted entirely to his patron, the firſt act of his adminiſtration was to annul all the violent decrees of the impetuous Boniface, ſeveral of which were ſtill in force. As a further inſtance of his complaiſance, he conſented to the deſtruction of the order of the Templars, and finally removed the holy ſee to Avignon, to the great detriment and mortification of the Roman people. During the ſpace of ſeventy years, the capital of the chriſtian world

was

was deſerted by the repreſentative of the apoſtles, after having been the reſidence of near two hundred popes. Had the ſucceſſors of Philip been poſſeſſed of equal abilities with himſelf, the holy father would probably have ſunk to be little more than the *grand almoner* of France, inſtead of being the head of the univerſal church. But Philip died in the meridian of life, and with his three ſons, who rapidly ſucceeded each other on the Gallic throne, the male line became extinct. The pretenſions of Edward the third to this rich inheritance, involved both nations in thoſe cruel and deſtructive wars, which ſo long laid waſte the moſt fertile provinces of France, and drained this country of it's nobleſt blood.

Italy, in the meantime, was governed by a ſeries of petty princes, who acknowledged the authority neither of the pope, nor of the emperor. Till at length the brilliant talents of cardinal Ægidius reſtored an appearance of order, and tranquillity, to which that devoted country had been long a ſtranger. This fortunate change was the prelude to ſtill greater felicity. In 1377, Gregory the eleventh returned to Rome, amid the prayers and bleſſings of a frantic populace. Gregory, who appears to have been a pious and reſpectable eccleſiaſtic, was no ſtateſman. He ſoon found occaſion to repent his folly in having abandoned the comforts

comforts and quiet of Avignon, to expoſe himſelf to the turbulence of a Roman mob. No ſooner had he breathed his laſt, than an armed multitude aſſembled before the Vatican, and forced the cardinals, as they entered the conclave, to promiſe that they would vote for an *Italian*. Urban the fifth was accordingly elected. We have already been made acquainted with the fatal conſequences of this haſty choice, and with the ſchiſm which enſued.

Robert, count of Geneva, was no ſooner oppoſed to Urban, than he eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Avignon. This memorable conteſt for power compleated the confuſion of the chriſtian world, by adding religious frenzy to civil diſcord. From the jarring intereſts of the rival pontiffs, it frequently happened, that more than one eccleſiaſtic was nominated to a vacant benefice. In ſuch caſes force was uſually employed to decide the queſtion of ~~divine~~ right, and blood was often ſhed in the conteſt. To ſuch a degree too had this ſpirit of diſſention ſpread, that the pious and devout were tormented on the bed of death, with ſcruples of conſcience, reſpecting the validity of the powers, with which their confeſſor was inveſted, whom their neareſt neighbor perhaps condemned to eternal puniſhment, as a ſchiſmatic, and an interloper. The wicked and licentious, on the other hand, had

had no longer any motives to reſtrain their paſſions, or to ſet bounds to their inordinate deſires; ſince in the ſtruggle for temporary emoluments, they were ſure of receiving abſolution upon eaſy terms. Thus crimes of the blackeſt die were perpetrated by perſons who filled the moſt eminent ſtations. The duke of Milan murdered his own uncle. Giovanni, his ſon, fell a victim to the fury of the populace. Joan, queen of Naples was ſtrangled by a near relation, after having imbrued her hands in the blood of her huſband.

Anarchy, and deſpotiſm, were by turns triumphant in the different countries of Europe. Italy was a prey to the licentious fury of thoſe mercenary bands, who had been attracted by the love of plunder from France, England, and Germany. Wenceſlaus was depoſed, for a ſeries of crimes and follies which were worthy the maddeſt of the Cæſars; and Germany, divided between two rival candidates, was menaced with all the horrors of a civil war. Charles the ſixth of France was inſane. While Richard the ſecond of England was impriſoned and murdered by domeſtic factions. Sweden had loſt her independance, and France was reduced to the very brink of ruin, by the fatal animoſities which ſubſiſted between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. The wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter

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—the long national conteſt that deluged both Sweden and Denmark in blood—the feuds and diſſentions of the German princes—the final overthrow of the Greek empire—the daring and ambitious projects of the Othman Bajazet, which ſpread terror and deſolation over the chriſtian world—and finally, the great and brilliant victories of Timur, whoſe triumphant dominions extended from the confines of China to the ſhores of the Adriatic—all theſe ſurpriſing events, which took place during the courſe of a ſingle century, prepared the way for thoſe important changes, both civil and religious, which were ſoon to follow, and opened to the genius of man a more extenſive field for ſpeculation and action.

During this unhappy period of univerſal anarchy, that may be conſidered as a chaos out of which light is to ariſe, while bleſſings or anathemas were promiſcuouſly diſtributed, among the followers of the goſpel, as the intereſt, caprice, or ambition, of contending pontiffs occaſionally determined, there aroſe in Europe ſeveral characters, no leſs eminent for their talents, their virtues, and their erudition, than diſtinguiſhed for their boldneſs in the purſuit of truth. Henry, of Heſſe, Peter, of Ailly, the chancellor Gerſon, and Nicolas de Clemanges, all men of deep learning, and ſuperior abilities, exerted themſelves, with unremitting

ting zeal, in expoſing the various abuſes of the papal government. While at the ſame time, as if nothing leſs than a general concuſſion of the elements could overturn a fabric, which had been progreſſively ſtrengthened by the accumulated labors of a thouſand years, the whole chriſtian world called out, in a voice of thunder, for REFORMATION.

Thirty-one years from the commencement of the ſchiſm, a general council was called, by the cardinals, to meet at Piſa, where Innocent the ſeventh, and Benedict the thirteenth, were ſummoned to appear in perſon. Little could it be expected that men of turbulent diſpoſitions, and accuſtomed to the charms of power, ſhould willingly conſent to reſign it. And this was the neceſſary conſequence of their ſubmiſſion. They therefore adopted the expedient of proteſting againſt the legality of the aſſembly, as deficient in many of the neceſſary formalities. But the cardinals, in defiance of the papal mandate, entered immediately upon buſineſs, and having declared them both, without any diſtinction, to be guilty of contumacy, proceeded to depoſe them, and to chuſe Alexander the fifth in their place. Alexander was a perſon of the meaneſt extraction, and is ſaid even to have been ſupported by charity, in his earlieſt youth. He owed his elevation entirely to the celebrated,

1409.

Two popes called them Peter de Lu elected 13 and died 14 And V. es Visini elected 1 V died 1

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Oxford and Paris, was made biſhop of Vicenza and abp. of the Milaneſe, and made cardinal by Innocent 7th

lebrated cardinal Coſſa, a man poſſeſſed of bold and ſplendid talents, and riſen, like Alexander, from an humble ſtation. In the former part of his life, there is little doubt, that he exerciſed the profeſſion of a *pirate*, which was certainly more analogous to his natural character, than the Roman purple.

Alexander had taken an oath, together with his colleagues in the ſacred college, not to ſeparate before a reform was effected. But no ſooner had he obtained the envied dignity, than he found a thouſand excuſes for avoiding the accompliſhment of his promiſe. Perceiving, however, that the prelates were by no means ſatisfied with his evaſive conduct, he thought it prudent to diſmiſs them for the preſent, having firſt prorogued the ſynod to 1412. Thus the only benefit which Europe derived from this council, which has been called in deriſion, *the conventicle of demons*, was the creation of a third pope.

The ſchiſm was thus rendered wider than ever. On the death of Alexander, his former patron, cardinal Coſſa, was raiſed to the papal chair, under the title of John the twenty-third. Meanwhile, Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, availing himſelf of the weakneſs of the exiſting government, had made himſelf maſter of Rome, Ancona, and the far greater

greater part of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The force, which he employed in this expedition, was ſo conſiderable, that it would have been in vain for the pope to have attempted to oppoſe it. Ladiſlaus was eminently endued with all thoſe brilliant qualities, which conſtitute the hero, and would, in all probability, have reduced Italy once more under the dominion of a ſingle maſter, had he not been arreſted, by the hand of death, in the midſt of thoſe ſplendid plans of conqueſt, which his youthful ambition had traced. Terrified at the approach of the conqueror, John fled to Bologna, excommunicated by the two rival pontiffs, unacknowledged by the greater part of Europe, and unaſſiſted by France, in whoſe ſupport his chief hope was placed. In this ſtate of deſperation, he applied to Sigiſmund for protection, who immediately flew to his ſuccor, with an alacrity, which did more credit to his zeal that to his prudence.

Sigiſmund, though dignified with the pompous title of emperor, was poſſeſſed in reality of but little power. But what he had, he was willing to employ in reſtoring peace and unity to the church. This was a duty which he conſidered to be impoſed upon him by his elevated ſtation. It was congenial to his natural character, and in ſome meaſure expected from him by the chriſtian world. Beſides, in quality of protector of the holy

ſee,

ſee, he poſſeſſed, in ſpiritual affairs, a degree of influence, to which no other European potentate had any right to pretend. For though the authority of the emperors was entirely confined to Germany, and even there was greatly circumſcribed, they had ever aſſumed the title of *Kings of the Romans*, ſince the days of Otho the Great.

Sigiſmund was equally in want both of men and of money. Yet no conſideration could induce him to delay his journey to Italy. In his progreſs through Helvetia, he endeavored to prevail upon the Swiſs to furniſh him with a reinforcement, that he might appear with a retinue more ſuitable to his dignity, and have nothing to apprehend from the duke of Milan, with whom he was at that time upon very precarious terms.

Upon the demand being ſeparately made to the different cantons, no difficulties were ſtarted by any of them. But a diet being ſummoned, at Lucerne, to debate the queſtion in a more regular way, a thouſand obſtacles aroſe. The folly and impolicy of ſacrificing their lives and fortunes, in a conteſt, where the proſperity and happineſs of their own nation were ſo little concerned, could not fail of ſtriking a people, who were perfect adepts in the ſcience of political calculation. But while theſe conſiderations operated, with their proper

× These fellows were afraid to trust each other.

proper effect, upon the majority of the aſſembly, there were others who ſupported a different opinion, and thought, that the honor of aſſiſting, in ſo laudable an undertaking, might be regarded as a ſufficient plea for deviating from the rigid rules of prudence. It was accordingly reſolved, that they ſhould take no part whatever in their national capacity, but ſhould leave individuals at liberty to follow their own inclinations. Sigiſmund, having ſettled this important point, and left proper perſons behind to engage thoſe who offered their ſervices, continued his route to Bellinzona, where he was joined by a body of ſixteen hundred mercenaries; and ſhortly after, by Wiſcard, baron of Raron, with one hundred horſe, and ſix hundred foot. But this increaſe of numbers ſerved only to render the emperor more ſenſible of his want of money. For he was a perfect ſtranger to thoſe popular talents, which attach an army amidſt the moſt intolerable hardſhips, and engage them to undergo every fatigue and privation without a murmur. Allured, however, by the proſpect of plunder, they followed the imperial ſtandard to Trezzo, when, having diſcovered that Sigiſmund had already entered into a negociation with the duke of Milan, and diſguſted at the haughty carriage of the German nobility, they unanimouſly reſolved not to be any longer

the dupes of artifice, but quitted the emperor to a man, and returned to their native valleys.

We have already been made acquainted with the reſult of this expedition, and of the emperor's return through the canton of Berne. The magnificence, with which he was received in this latter city, is related by *Muller*, with conſiderable detail, from whom we ſhall borrow the following particulars. At a ſmall diſtance from the town, he was met by a troop of five hundred youths, of the moſt captivating figures; none of whom exceeded the age of ſixteen. They were crowned with wreaths of flowers, among which the imperial eagle was introduced with much ingenuity. At the head of this lovely proceſſion, marched a boy of extreme beauty, who carried the ſtandard of the holy empire. A train of prieſts followed, bearing crucifixes and tapers, and diſtributing relics and indulgencies to all around them. No ſooner were they arrived at the gates of Berne, than the *avoyer* preſented Sigiſmund with the keys, which he immediately returned, ſaying, "Take "them, and keep them carefully. They can "never be in better hands." While he rode through the ſtreets, a golden canopy was held over his head by the four *bannerets*. On either ſide, the arcades were lined by the members of the

ſenate,

ſenate, and of the great council; while the windows and balconies were crouded with ſpectators of every rank and ſex. The convent of the Dominicans was ſelected for his reſidence, where a ſpacious apartment had been prepared. The emperor's chamber was hung with ſilk, the floor being covered with a cloth of gold. Meanwhile, wine was diſtributed in the greateſt profuſion to Sigiſmund's retinue; and in order that no ſenſe might remain ungratified, the moſt beautiful women had been collected from the neighboring towns, whoſe favors were venal, and who, like the houris, in the Mahomedan paradiſe, welcomed the ſtrangers with open arms.

Sigiſmund was ſo enchanted with his reception, that he continued at Berne for three days, during which time the whole city preſented a ſcene of the moſt unbounded feſtivity, and licentious mirth. The people were tranſported to exceſs with their royal gueſt; for the emperor poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all thoſe leſſer virtues, which captivate the multitude, and paſs with them for real greatneſs. His manners were engaging, though replete with dignity; and ſo cheap is popularity to perſons of exalted rank, that a ſingle ſmile is ſometimes ſufficient to gain the hearts of thouſands.

CHAPTER XIV.

Council of Conſtance—Abdication and Flight of the Pope—Frederic quits Conſtance—Is put under the Ban of the Empire—War againſt Auſtria—Frederic ſubmits—John depoſed—Martin elected—The Council diſſolved—John Huſs and Jerome of Prague.

A. D. 1415.

THE pope, notwithſtanding all the promiſes which he had made to the emperor, was extremely averſe to croſſing the Alps. But his fears of Ladiſlaus, and ſtill more the confidence that he placed in the aſſurances of protection, which he had received from the duke of Auſtria, over-ruled his better judgment. Frederic met him at Trent, and in a few days not only gained his friendſhip, but obtained a compleat aſcendancy over his mind. He attended him during the reſt of his journey, and on the 28th of Auguſt they entered Conſtance together, followed by nine cardinals, a long train of prelates, and a body of ſix hundred horſe.

Conſtance

Conſtance was, at that time, the reſidence of many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in Chriſtendom, both for rank and learning. Emperors, kings, princes, republics, churches, and univerſities, were preſent, either perſonally or by their repreſentatives, and vied with each other in the magnificence of their dreſs, the number of their retinue, and the ſplendor of their arms; while the moſt celebrated of the European literati contended for the palm of eloquence, and aſpired to draw upon themſelves the admiration of the world, by the ſtrength of their reaſoning and the depth of their erudition. To theſe may be added immenſe crowds of ſpectators, who were attracted either by the novelty of the ſcene, or the love of diſſipation, and came to while away an irkſome exiſtence, in a place, where every thing that was great, and every thing that was vicious, was concentered as in one common focus. Artiſts, mechanics, and courteſans, flocked likewiſe from every country in Europe, to vend their reſpective commodities; all of whom, particularly the latter, found abundant cuſtomers, in an age, when temperance and chaſtity were not among the moſt conſpicuous of the clerical virtues.

Europe meanwhile waited in anxious expectation of the great event. The wiſe and good offered their moſt fervent prayers to heaven for the

re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity, while the intriguing and the vicious were already occupied in deviſing ſchemes to counteract every plan of reform, in caſe the cauſe of virtue ſhould ultimately triumph, and an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, in contradiction to all former precedents, be productive of any amendment in the diſcipline of the church.

The firſt buſineſs of the aſſembly was to regulate the mode of voting, which was an affair of no trifling import. After a long and violent debate, it was finally ſettled that the votes ſhould be calculated by nations, and not by numbers. Of theſe there were five—France, England, Italy, Germany, and Spain.* The papal party ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this regulation; as the Italian prelates being more numerous than thoſe of all the other nations, taken collectively, John had flattered himſelf, by his influence with them, to have directed the proceedings of the council, as beſt ſuited his intereſted views.

This was indeed a fatal blow to all his hopes; and a meſſenger arriving at the ſame moment to announce the death of Ladiſlaus, John began al-

* We have included the Spaniards, though they did not attend at the beginning of the council, but joined it ſome time after.

ready

ready ſeriouſly to repent his folly in having quitted Italy. He now perceived that his abdication was inevitable, and was already buſied in concerting means for his flight, ſince he was reſolved to expoſe himſelf to any riſk, rather than abandon his power.

Frederic too was ſenſibly mortified at the ſuperior ſplendor of Sigiſmund, who appeared in all the majeſty of imperial ſtate, ſurrounded and ſerved by the greateſt princes of the empire. He now curſed the hour, when he had imprudently ſuffered his diminiſhed ſtar to come in contact with a luminary of ſuch ſuperior magnitude. Nor was the emperor diſpleaſed at an opportunity of humbling a prince, whom, with ſome degree of reaſon, he looked upon as a rival. Having received the homage of ſeveral perſons of inferior rank, he was particularly anxious to obtain this token of ſubmiſſion from ſo powerful a ſovereign as the duke of Auſtria. Frederic, being called upon, excuſed himſelf, under pretence that it was a privilege of the houſe of Auſtria, to have the inveſtiture conferred upon them on horſeback, within their own territory. From theſe trifling beginnings aroſe a ſpirit of perſonal animoſity between theſe two princes, which was productive of the moſt important conſequences, and had well nigh terminated in the ruin of the duke.

Sigiſmund was highly offended at the duke's refuſal, which he conſidered as a flight; but at the ſame time he was ſo conſcious of his own weakneſs, that he was obliged, for the preſent, to conceal his indignation. But in order to be prepared for every event, he began ſecretly to negociate with the Swiſs, as the hereditary enemies of the houſe of Auſtria; demanding from them a ſolemn promiſe, that they would make common cauſe with him, in caſe of a rupture. The Swiſs were, however, too cautious to pledge themſelves raſhly; but repreſented, in terms of reſpect, that they had but lately renewed the truce with Frederic for fifty years, and that obligations of ſuch a nature were ever held ſacred by them.

Frederic was ſpeedily informed, by his ſecret emiſſaries, of the correſpondence, which was carrying on, between Sigiſmund and the confederates: and though he was unable as yet to diſcover how far the treaty had proceeded, yet he knew enough to be ſatisfied, that he was himſelf the object againſt which it was directed. Upon this, he found it neceſſary to aſſume a leſs haughty tone, and gave the moſt poſitive aſſurances to the emperor, that he ſhould receive ample ſatisfaction in every particular; while at the ſame time he made him the moſt alluring offers, provided he would join in reducing the Swiſs.

Sigiſmund,

Sigiſmund, however, who looked upon the propoſal in no other light than as that of an artifice to gain time, and placed no confidence whatever in the promiſes of his rival, took care to give private intimation to the confederates of every thing that paſſed, hoping by this diſhonorable conduct to widen the breach between them and Frederic. But the attempt was ineffectual. The cantons were put upon their guard, but ſtill perſevered in the ſyſtem of neutrality which they had ſo prudently adopted.

Meanwhile, the aſſembled prelates demanded, in poſitive terms, the abdication of the pope. John, who probably thought that an apparent compliance might conduce to facilitate his eſcape, replied with well-diſſembled moderation, "*that he "ſhould at all times be ready to ſacrifice himſelf for "the intereſts of religion:*" and appearing in the midſt of the council, he went through the painful ceremony with a degree of dignity and ſelf-command, which produced a wonderful effect upon the minds of the ſpectators. Struck with the awful ſpectacle, Sigiſmund immediately laid aſide his crown, and kneeling down with demonſtrations of the profoundeſt reſpect, kiſſed the pontiff's feet. Upon this the patriarch of Antioch aroſe, and in an energetic ſpeech, communicated to him the thanks of the aſſembly, for ſo glorious an inſtance of ſelf-devotion.

The

The whole, however, of this impoſing ſcene, was at beſt but a well acted farce; which was performed by the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, in order more fully to diſguiſe his real intentions. For taking advantage of the confuſion of a tournament which was celebrated by Frederic for that purpoſe, he fled in the diſguiſe of a poſtillion, and reached Shaffhauſen undiſcovered; where he was joined, in a few days, by the duke of Auſtria.

No ſooner was the pope's flight made public, than the city of Conſtance became a ſcene of tumult and conſternation. Apprehenſive for their own ſafety, the Italian prelates thought no longer of any thing but of ſaving themſelves from the indignation of an incenſed populace, and eſcaped under a variety of diſguiſes; while the people ran, with turbulent fury to the palace, which had lately been inhabited by the pontiff, and would in a few moments have deſtroyed whatever they could find, had they not been prevented by the timely interference of the magiſtrates.

In this ſtrange dilemma the ſenate was inſtantly convened; and after much deliberation it was reſolved, that three cardinals ſhould be deputed to the pope, to prevail upon him, if poſſible, to return. John received them in the moſt gracious manner, and requeſted them to inform the council, "that

" that the ill ſtate of his health required change " of air, and that this was the ſole cauſe of his " removal." But in a private letter to ſome of his confidential friends, he expreſſed himſelf in different terms, and ſtated, that apprehenſions for the ſafety of his perſon, which was far from ſecure, ſo long as he remained in the power of Sigiſmund, had induced him to take this precipitate ſtep.

Upon the return of the cardinals, it was debated, in a very numerous ſitting, what meaſures it would be proper to purſue; when the majority agreed in opinion, that notwithſtanding the late events, *the preſent aſſembly was a perfect repreſentation of the church; and ought not to ſeparate till it's unity was eſtabliſhed, and a compleat reform effected.* They further declared, *that perſons of all deſcriptions were bound to obey it's deciſions in ſpiritual affairs; and that John, by withdrawing himſelf clandeſtinely from Conſtance, had laid himſelf open to a ſuſpicion of hereſy.*

At the ſame time, Sigiſmund, who plainly perceived all the advantage which he might derive from the imprudent conduct of his rival, reſolved to make the moſt of his ſituation. With the concurrence of many of the German princes, a deputation was ſent to Frederic, requiring his immediate

diate attendance, and threatening him, in caſe of diſobedience, with the confiſcation of all his territories. The duke, who was well aware how little favor he could expect from an aſſembly, the greater part of whom were blindly devoted to his enemy, refuſed to comply with the ſummons. He was accordingly declared to be guilty of rebellion, and put under the imperial ban; while the council, in their ſpiritual capacity, pronounced ſentence of excommunication; annulling expreſsly all treaties and alliances of whatever deſcription, abſolving his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and offering compleat abſolution to all perſons who would aſſiſt in the holy work, of giving full execution to the edict, by invading any part of his dominions.

Whether they were actuated by motives of ſuperſtition or of intereſt, it would be now a waſte of time to enquire. But whatever was the principle, a large body of the nobility, who had before been devoted to the houſe of Auſtria, now took arms for its deſtruction.*

But the principal dependance of Sigiſmund was placed in the co-operation of the Helvetic cantons,

* The counts of Nellenburg, Montford, Lupfen, and Toggenburg, were among the number.

whom

whom he exhorted in the moſt energetic terms, not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of humbling their hereditary foe, by joining in a league, the avowed purpoſe of which was to make war upon the houſe of Auſtria. However, to his extreme ſurprize and mortification, he ſtill found them averſe to the propoſal. The excuſe they employed was, indeed, a plauſible one—a regard for exiſting treaties. But if we may be allowed to penetrate their ſecret motives, this cautious conduct more probably aroſe from the fear of committing themſelves raſhly, and the deſire of previouſly aſcertaining what party declared for the duke, before they ventured to enter the liſts.

Of all the Helvetic confederates, the republic of Berne alone ſhewed no diſinclination to partake in the ſpoils of plundered Auſtria.

John, who was minutely informed, by his private agents, of all that was tranſacting, thought it would be imprudent to remain any longer in the vicinity of Conſtance, but removed, firſt to Lauffenburg, and then to Friburg in the Briſgau; where he publiſhed a manifeſto, ſtating that his reſignation had been the effect of compulſion, and that in conſequence it muſt be regarded as null. Meanwhile, Frederic was reduced to a ſituation little ſhort of deſperation, and had nothing to depend

pend upon but the fidelity of his ſubjects, and the interpoſition of ſome powerful friends, who ſtill adhered to him in his diſtreſs.

Every thing being prepared for war, the burgrave of Nuremberg aſſumed the command of the imperial army, and advanced into the Thurgau, where he was met by deputies from moſt of the Auſtrian towns, with offers of ſubmiſſion. Even Shaffhauſen opened it's gates, and as a reward for this act of diſloyalty, was immediately reſtored to the dignity of an imperial city. So great, indeed, was the prevalence of the eccleſiaſtical influence, or ſuch the unpopularity of the houſe of Auſtria, that the troops advanced without the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

The Swiſs had hitherto kept aloof, waiting in anxious expectation for the event. But finding themſelves menaced with the indignation of the council, in caſe they ſhould perſiſt in keeping upon terms of amity with an excommunicated prince, the reſolution of the majority began at length to waver. And having weighed on the one hand the advantages which were offered them by the imperial party, and on the other the inconveniences to which they ſhould be expoſed by adhering faithfully to their engagements, the balance at length inclined on the ſide of intereſt.

All

All punctilious ſcruples were forgotten, and their views and efforts entirely directed to the future aggrandiſement of Helvetia.

The Berners, whoſe eyes had been long fixed upon the Argau, with all the eagerneſs of a devouring ambition, were the firſt to take the field, and commenced hoſtilities by the ſiege of Zofingen, before the other cantons were prepared. The reſt of the confederates had agreed to carry on the war in common, and to divide the ſpoil between them at the concluſion of the campaign, but the object of Berne was evidently of a different nature. This ambitious republic aimed at acting an independant part, and ſeemed determined to direct her operations as her own private intereſt, not as the general good, required.

The oſtenſible object of the war, indeed, according to the repeated declarations of all parties, was merely to reduce the duke of Auſtria to ſuch extremities, that he ſhould be obliged to make ample ſatisfaction for his paſt imprudence, and conduct himſelf in future as became a dutiful ſon to ſo indulgent a mother as the church. But whatever may have been the character which they found it convenient to aſſume, the deception was too groſs to impoſe upon any thing but credulity and ignorance. The ſlighteſt knowledge of

of human nature was ſufficient to diſcover, that in this, as in all ſimilar engagements, *intereſt* was the great, the maſter-ſpring, which put the whole body in motion. In private life individuals are capable of performing the nobleſt deeds from the nobleſt motives; but when acting in an aggregate body, their views are leſs pure, and the glory and aggrandiſement of the nation are uſually regarded as a ſufficient excuſe for treachery, baſeneſs, or breach of faith.

Precarious as was the ſituation to which Frederic now found himſelf reduced, that of his ſubjects was ſcarcely leſs critical. Aſſailed on every ſide by a powerful coalition, they had neither the means of concerting one common plan of defence, nor of learning the wiſhes and intentions of their ſovereign. Meanwhile, the ſiege of Zofingen was carried on with activity by the Berners, who were deſirous of making themſelves maſters of that important place before they could be joined by the reſt of the confederates. Their eagerneſs to effect this point was a favorable circumſtance for the garriſon, as it induced the beſiegers to accede to every demand that was made; ſo that the burghers not only obtained a compleat ratification of all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, but acquired a variety of additional franchiſes, which

which it would have been in vain to have expected from an arbitrary government.

Proceeding with uninterrupted ſucceſs, the arms of Berne were every where triumphant. Arberg, Arau, Bruck, and Lenzburg, opened their gates without reſiſtance. Even Hapſburg itſelf—Hapſburg, the hereditary ſeat of Auſtrian greatneſs, ſubmitted to the victorious republic, and was for ever loſt to the ſucceſſors of Rodolphus.

Though the example of Berne could not fail to operate as a ſtrong temptation to the reſt of the confederates, and had indeed induced the greater part of them to take an active part in the war, the Zurickers were ſtill deſirous of preſerving appearances. Upon receiving a more urgent ſummons from the emperor to join the league without further delay, they repreſented to him, in the moſt reſpectful language, the ſcruples which they ſtill entertained, and humbly ſupplicated him, in caſe it was his determination to admit of no excuſe, to publiſh ſuch a reſcript, as might juſtify them in the eyes of the world for this apparent breach of public faith. At the ſame time, they requeſted that he would conſult the different ſtates of the empire, and the moſt eminent civilians, with reſpect to the legality of ſuch a proceeding. Sigiſmund, who readily perceived that there was more

caſuiſtry than real honeſty, in this cautious conduct, no ſooner received the application, than he ſent back the following declaration, which was publicly read at a diet at Schweitz.

" The electors and princes of the Roman em-
" pire, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, together
" with the ambaſſadors of the kings of England,
" Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Bo-
" hemia, having taken into ſerious conſideration
" the treaty, which actually ſubſiſts between the
" Helvetic republics and Frederic duke of Auſtria,
" are unanimouſly of opinion, that *the Swiſs, as*
" *members of the Germanic body, are bound in duty to*
" *afford every poſſible aid to the emperor; their obliga-*
" *tions to the empire, and to the church, being para-*
" *mount to every other engagement.* And in conſe-
" quence of their prompt obedience, the emperor
" *conſents to grant to the Helvetic body, whatever ter-*
" *ritories they may conquer from the duke of Auſtria,*
" *to hold as fiefs of the empire.*"

Sigiſmund, at the ſame time, addreſſed a partial ordinance to the four foreſt cantons, including Zug and Glaris; ſtating, " that as Frederic, com-
" monly called duke of Auſtria, laid claim to va-
" rious juriſdictions and revenues, within their re-
" ſpective territories, they were prohibited, un-
" der the ſevereſt penalties, from allowing him to

levy

" levy contributions, or from affording him any " feudal ſervices, *ſince he had forfeited every right to* " *theſe, by his contumacious behaviour towards the* " *Roman empire.*"

The confederates, whoſe ſcruples were now compleatly lulled by the ſoothing proſpect of gain, determined unanimouſly upon war, with the ſingle exception of the canton of Uri: for theſe honeſt people could not be perſuaded that there exiſted any power on earth, which was capable of reconciling the violation of oaths. No remonſtrances, however, were any longer attended to. The banner was diſplayed, and they took the field.

Every thing now ſucceeded to their wiſhes. In a few weeks, the Lucerners made themſelves maſters of Surſee, with the three bailiwics of Richenſee, Meyenberg, and Vilmeringen. The Zurickers, on their part, were no leſs ſucceſsful. After taking Mellingen and Bremgarten, they united their troops with thoſe of the other confederates, and ſat down before Baden. The conqueſt of this place was of the utmoſt conſequence to Zuric, but the ſiege was attended with conſiderable difficulties, both on account of the ſtrength of the caſtle, and the numbers of the garriſon. In conſequence of theſe conſiderations, application was made to Berne for aſſiſtance, as the confede-

rates were anxious to make the moſt of their time, foreſeeing that a reconciliation, between the contending parties, would at once deprive them of every hope of ſucceſs.

Frederic, notwithſtanding the pecuniary ſupplies with which he was furniſhed by the pope, who had taken the precaution to ſecure the large treaſures which he had brought from Italy, ſaw no proſpect of being able to continue the conteſt either with credit or advantage. Having conſulted with his few remaining friends, he was adviſed by them to throw himſelf upon the mercy of his rival. A ſtep, like this, was a ſevere mortification; and he for a long time debated whether he ſhould brave the ſtorm, and put himſelf at the head of the brave Tyroleſe, upon whoſe fidelity and courage he could rely, or gratify the pride of Sigiſmund by his ſubmiſſion. The latter plan was warmly recommended by the duke of Bavaria, a good-natured, well-meaning man, who, provided he could make up a quarrel, was indifferent to the means by which it was effected. His arguments at length prevailed, and Frederic prepared for the humiliating ſcene.

On the day appointed for his appearance at Conſtance, Sigiſmund, in order to render his triumph more compleat, invited the moſt diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed perſonages, who attended the council, to be preſent at this extraordinary ſpectacle. A large and ſpacious hall was choſen for the ceremony; and Sigiſmund, the more fully to enjoy his rival's confuſion, placed himſelf at the greateſt poſſible diſtance from the entry. Frederic at length appeared. He was ſupported by the duke of Bavaria and the elector of Brandenburg, each of whom held him by the arm. Having knelt three times in token of his ſubmiſſion, Sigiſmund addreſſed himſelf to the duke, and aſked, in a loud and peremptory tone, "What is your wiſh?" To this the duke of Bavaria replied, "Mighty "king—my couſin, Frederic, duke of Auſtria, is "here. At his earneſt requeſt, I entreat your "majeſty to pardon every offence which he may "have committed, either againſt your ſacred per-"ſon, or the venerable council aſſembled here. "Moſt willingly does he reſign himſelf, and all "his poſſeſſions, to your diſpoſal, placing an un-"bounded confidence in your mercy. At the "ſame time, he declares himſelf ready to bring "back the pope, provided he receives your royal "word, that his perſon and property ſhall be re-"ſpected." Upon this, the emperor, raiſing his voice, demanded, "Will duke Frederic himſelf "confirm this promiſe?" "I will," anſwered the duke, in accents ſcarcely articulate, "and do im-"plore your clemency." The melancholy tone in

which he uttered this ſhort and broken ſentence, pierced to the very heart of Sigiſmund, who replied immediately, "It is, indeed, moſt afflicting "to us, that you ſhould ever have needed it!"

Upon this, the duke took the oath of allegiance, and ſurrendered all his poſſeſſions into the hands of Sigiſmund; with the expreſs declaration, that he would be contented to receive back ſuch parts only, as the emperor might be pleaſed, in his bounty, to beſtow.

The ceremony being now concluded, Sigiſmund turning to the Italian prelates, with an air of triumph, addreſſed them in the following words: "Ye know, reverend fathers, from experience, "the power and conſequence of the houſe of "Auſtria. Let the ſcene, to which ye have juſt "been witneſſes, teach ye what an emperor of "Germany can effect!"

Sigiſmund, whoſe vanity was not yet ſatisfied, gave immediate directions to his troops to take poſſeſſion of the dominions which Frederic had ſurrendered. The order was executed without delay. But upon their preparing to enter the Tyrol, they found that duke Erneſt, Frederic's brother, had put himſelf in ſuch a poſture of defence, that the attempt would be attended with the

the moſt imminent danger: ſo that project was in conſequence abandoned.

The diſpute with the duke of Auſtria being at length terminated, the attention of the council was now directed towards the pope; and the elector of Brandenburg received poſitive directions to bring him back, either by intreaty or by force. Forſaken by all, and left without a ſingle friend to whom he could communicate his ſorrows, John ſuffered himſelf, without the leaſt reſiſtance, to be conducted to a fortreſs in the vicinity of Conſtance. But the ſituation to which he was now reduced was ſufficient to excite the commiſeration even of his moſt inveterate foes. All regard for the dignity of his perſon was laid aſide; his faults alone were remembered. Even the vices of his earlieſt youth were now brought forward, and painted in the blackeſt colors that malevolence could give them. But this, indeed, was an unneceſſary precaution, for they required no exaggeration to render his character odious.

1416. On the twenty-ninth of May the council proceeded to paſs ſentence upon the univerſal ſovereign of the chriſtian world. He was declared guilty of ſimony—of having laviſhed the revenues of the church for the gratification of his own inordinate paſſions; and finally, of having

offended the pious by the ſhameful publicity of his vices. In conſequence of which, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that he was unworthy any longer to fill the elevated ſtation to which he had been inadvertently raiſed.

This reſolution was no ſooner taken, than a deputation of cardinals was commiſſioned to wait upon John, and to communicate to him the deciſion of the council. Convinced that oppoſition could no longer avail, the degraded pontiff received them with apparent cheerfulneſs and benignity; and making a virtue of neceſſity, acknowledged, in preſence of ſeveral notaries, that with his own conſent and approbation, he gave up every claim to his former dignity. But his known duplicity having deprived him of all pretenſions to credibility, he was delivered into the cuſtody of the elector Palatine, by whom he was confined in the caſtle of Heidelberg. There he remained till the year 1418, when upon paying a conſiderable ranſom, he was ſet at liberty, with the conſent of Martin, who then filled the papal chair. No ſooner had he recovered his freedom, than he haſtened to Florence, and threw himſelf at the feet of Martin, who immediately conferred upon him the dignity of cardinal and the biſhoprick of Freſcati; neither of which he long enjoyed. His conſtitution, already broken by the irregularities

larities of his youth, was little calculated to ſtruggle againſt the ſtorms to which his maturer age was expoſed.

Meanwhile the ſiege of Baden was carried on with the greateſt vigor. The beſiegers had already ſucceeded in making a breach in the walls with their artillery, and had cut off the water from the mills, when the town ſurrendered, upon condition that the confederates ſhould reſtore it, in caſe they ſhould fail in their attack upon the caſtle. The Swiſs, however, were no ſooner informed of the reconciliation that had taken place between Frederic and Sigiſmund, than they redoubled their efforts. Additional cannon were brought from Zurlc and Lucerne, by the aſſiſtance of which a practicable breach was effected, when an aſſault was determined upon. Both parties now diſplayed the moſt heroic valor; yet after a day of vigorous exertions, little ground was gained. The garriſon, however, had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that they offered to capitulate; and the beſiegers were ſo eager to get poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, that few difficulties occurred in arranging the conditions. After a ſhort negociation, it was agreed that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, and the place be given up, if not relieved within eight days.

The

The ſuſpicions entertained by the confederates with reſpect to the emperor's intentions, were now compleatly verified: for no ſooner had he reduced the duke of Auſtria to a ſtate of vaſſalage, than he ſent orders to the Swiſs to deſiſt from all further acts of hoſtility. But finding that his injunctions were diſregarded, and that they were reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of Baden, he deputed the counts of Toggenburg and Neuchatel to ſummon them to deliver it up, as a fief of the Roman empire. But upon their approach to the town, they, to their great aſtoniſhment, beheld the caſtle in flames, the confederates having reſolved upon this ſacrifice, as the only expedient by which they could avoid a rupture with Sigiſmund. The imperial delegates, highly incenſed at this act of ferocity, complained in bitter terms of their diſobedience; while the Swiſs alleged in their juſtification, that the hoſtile meaſures purſued by Frederic, ſince his reconciliation with the emperor, had forced them to commit an action moſt repugnant to their natural feelings, but which was fully authoriſed by the laws of war, and by every principle of ſelf-defence.

Nothing now remained for the confederates but to divide the ſpoil. For this purpoſe a diet was held at Zuric, when it was determined that Berne

Berne ſhould retain poſſeſſion of all ſhe had acquired in the Argau—that Lucerne ſhould keep Surſee, and Zuric Knonau; but that the remaining conqueſts, which were ſituated upon the banks of the Reuſs, ſhould be ſubject, in common, to ſix cantons.* The deputies of Uri proteſted, in the moſt energetic terms, againſt the whole tranſaction, which they conſidered as highly diſgraceful to the Helvetic people. During the heat of the debate, one of them addreſſed the aſſembly in the following words, which would have done honor to a Roman, in the proudeſt days of republican virtue. "We ought to recollect, my friends, "that the war, in which we have engaged, aroſe "not from any quarrel of our own. No, it was "in the cauſe of religion that we fought. Can it "then be conſiſtent with the ſtrict principles of "equity, for us to appropriate, to our own uſe, "the ſpoils of a ſovereign, from whom we have "received no recent injury? and this during the "exiſtence of a fifty years truce. Whatever we "have conquered, we are bound in honor to re-"ſtore to Sigiſmund, that he may thus have it in "his power to do juſtice to an oppreſt and un-"happy prince. This is our advice. It is dic-

* Zurie, Lucerne, Schweitz, Unterwalden, Zug and Glaris; for Berne was left out, on account of the acquiſitions which ſhe had made in the Argau.

"tated

"tated by hearts unſeduced by views of intereſt, "and which value glory beyond all the treaſures "of the earth. But ſhould it unhappily produce "no effect upon your minds, it is our decided re- "ſolution to take no ſhare in the plunder: for "our fathers taught us that honeſty was the moſt "enviable of all worldly poſſeſſions; and while "we live, we will obſerve the precept with fide- "lity." The plain language of truth was no longer calculated for the ears of the confederates, and was productive of no good effect. The integrity of the Urners was ridiculed as a weakneſs unworthy ſtateſmen; and is, in truth, a weakneſs of which they are ſeldom guilty.

Such were the advantages which the Helvetic republics derived from the council of Conſtance. In a few weeks, with little riſk, and ſcarce any loſs, they tore from the houſe of Auſtria, a very conſiderable part of it's hereditary poſſeſſions. Nothing appeared now to be wanting but a *legal title*, and for the acquiſition of that they truſted to the neceſſities of Sigiſmund. At firſt, indeed, he thought it requiſite to make ſome demonſtrations of recovering the diſputed territory by force of arms. But this was merely to preſerve appearances; for he was too well acquainted with the character of the Swiſs, to believe the undertaking practicable. In a little time, therefore, a ſecret treaty was ſet on

on foot, and an arrangement, ſhortly after, took place, by which the emperor ſacrificed the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria to his own immediate neceſſities.*

Every thing had ſucceeded ſo entirely to Sigiſmund's wiſhes, that after the reſignation of Gregory the twelfth,* he undertook a journey into Spain, flattering himſelf, that the perſonal application of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character would eaſily get the better of the intereſted ſcruples of Benedict the thirteenth, who was now the only remaining pontiff, and had retired to Perpignan to avoid compulſion. But he ſoon experienced, to his extreme ſurprize and mortification, that there were obſtacles which were unſurmountable even by the all-powerful ſuggeſtions of imperial eloquence. For Benedict was peremptory in his refuſal to abdicate, and ſupported his pretenſions with infinite addreſs and plauſibility. The emperor, however, ſo far carried his point, that Ferdinand, king of Arragon, who had hitherto ſupported Benedict in all his vain pretenſions to

* 4th July 14.

* The republic of Berne paid 5,000 florins for the preſervation of their conqueſts, and the other cantons 4,500 only. The latter grant was, however, accompanied with a proviſo, that might at any time be reſumed by the Auſtrian family, upon the repayment of the original ſum, with the addition of 6,000 florins for the expences of the war.

power,

power, began at length to open his eyes to the indecent obſtinacy of a man, whoſe conduct he had hitherto viewed in a very different light. Ferdinand having now withdrawn his protection, the council proceeded to paſs ſentence. And having declared him guilty of contumacy, hereſy, and whatever elſe was moſt heinous in the eſtimation of church-men, he was formally depoſed.

1417. Sigiſmund, who could not yet prevail upon himſelf to forego the ungenerous gratification of a rival's humiliation, at his departure for Spain, left Frederic under a guard at Conſtance. But the duke's patience began now to be completely exhauſted, by the continual indignities to which he was expoſed. Freſh accuſations were brought againſt him every day, for paſt miſconduct, to which he was obliged to anſwer before judges, who were entirely devoted to the emperor. Among others, the biſhop of Trent complained, in the bittereſt terms, of the cruel treatment he had received from the duke, who had not only made war upon him without the ſmalleſt provocation, but had kept him in cloſe confinement, contrary to every principle of juſtice. Upon this the holy fathers, whom we may reaſonably ſuſpect of ſome partiality in favor of an eccleſiaſtical prince, iſſued a thundering decree, menacing the unfortunate duke with the ſevereſt penalties, unleſs

leſs he made inſtant reparation to the offended prelate. But Frederic was not of a diſpoſition to ſubmit, for any length of time, to ſuch injurious treatment. His temper was naturally irritable, and misfortunes had now rendered him ſuſpicious. Even the generous conduct of his brother, in arming the Tyroleſe for his defence, was now regarded with a jealous eye. For he had been betrayed by ſo many of his friends, that he could no longer confide in man. Unable to ſupport his preſent ſtate of degradation, and deſirous more nearly to inveſtigate the meaſures which had been adopted by Erneſt, he ſecretly eſcaped from Conſtance, and thus expoſed himſelf a ſecond time to the imperial ban. Nor was it till after the return of Sigiſmund, and the election of a new pope, that upon a repetition of the former ſcene, he was once more reinſtated in the full poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions.

Sigiſmund, upon his return from Spain, was welcomed with the livelieſt joy, and the moſt profound reſpect. The part, which he had hitherto acted, was highly gratifying to the vanity of a man, who placed his whole happineſs in external objects. He had, however, perſuaded himſelf that one thing more was wanting to compleat his glory —viz. *a reform in the diſcipline of the church:* and he now turned his thoughts entirely to the accompliſhment

pliſhment of this important point. But the far greater number of the members of the council were too deeply intereſted in defeating the project, to enter upon it with honeſt zeal. So that whenever the emperor recommended it to their conſideration, they conſtantly found means of evading the ſubject, by urging the neceſſity of firſt terminating the more important buſineſs of electing a pope. While Sigiſmund, on his part, inſiſted, that the reform ought to precede the election; an opinion in which he was ſupported by all the Germanic body. The diſpute was carried on, for ſome time, with the greateſt acrimony, but the reſult proved finally ſuch, as might naturally be expected in a conteſt, where intereſt was oppoſed to reaſon. For the former will ever exert a degree of energy and perſeverance, which muſt eventually defeat the leſs active
1418. operations of the latter. Otho Colonna was in conſequence raiſed to the vacant chair, and aſſumed the name of Martin the fifth.

Experience now ſhewed that the partiſans of reform had not been miſtaken in their conjectures. For though ſeveral principles had been previouſly adopted, as the baſis on which they were to proceed, the cardinals had no ſooner carried their favorite point, than freſh obſtacles were ſuggeſted every day. It is true, that ſome looſe, and unſatisfactory

tisfactory regulations were made; but this was done merely to ſave appearances, as they related only to objects which were in themſelves trifling, while thoſe of real importance were left untouched, or referred to the diſcuſſion of a future council, which the new pope appointed to meet at Pavia. After this he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, on the 20th of April, 1418, having firſt loaded the fathers with praiſes and benedictions, for the many eminent ſervices that they had rendered to the chriſtian world, of which the moſt conſiderable was his own election.

Could any additional proof be wanting to ſhew how far the ſpirit of intrigue, and intereſt prevailed over every other conſideration, in directing the proceedings of this celebrated ſynod, we need only recal our reader's attention to the melancholy fate of John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague; the detail of which we have purpoſely reſerved for the preſent moment, though they fell a ſacrifice to the violence of religious zeal, at an early period of the council.

No ſooner had Wickliffe's opinions found their way into the univerſities of Germany, than new lights burſt at once upon the human intellect, and gave birth to a ſpirit of inveſtigation, which,

when judiciouſly directed, will ever be productive of eſſential benefit to the cauſe of religion. His writings became an object of too general ſtudy and curioſity, to eſcape the obſervation of Huſs. Prompted by the love of truth, this pious and learned divine devoured them with avidity. The bold ſtyle of reaſoning which Wickliffe employed, was congenial to his own ſentiments, and in a ſhort time ſo entirely engaged his thoughts, that he could diſcourſe upon no other ſubject.

Huſs was eminently diſtinguiſhed both for the depth of his erudition, and the purity of his moral character. Indeed, the energy with which he defended the cauſe of morality, ſeems ſometimes to have bordered upon imprudence, and to have induced him, in the vehemence of his zeal, to pay too little regard to the rank and quality of the perſon, againſt whom his cenſures were directed. But the integrity of his views had in general pleaded his excuſe, though the virulence of his language, in ſome caſes, appears to have drawn upon him the reſentment of men, who, from their ſituation in life, were formidable opponents. Some reforms, too, which had taken place with reſpect to the election of profeſſors, and which were aſcribed wholly to his influence, added conſiderably to the number of his enemies.

No

No ſooner, therefore, did he venture publicly to profeſs opinions, which the blindneſs of the age had termed heretical, than he was accuſed before the archbiſhop of Prague, who, as a prelude to this deciſive meaſure, had been prevailed upon to condemn Wickliffe's principles, as contrary to the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church. This premature ſentence was in fact a ſevere cenſure upon moſt of the Bohemian profeſſors, who had pretty generally embraced thoſe tenets; and who now began openly to tax the metropolitan with partiality and injuſtice, for having condemned the articles in a collective body, without any previous examination into their reſpective merits.

Huſs, however, eaſily diſcovered that theſe hoſtile proceedings were levelled chiefly againſt himſelf, and that Wickliffe's name had been brought forward for no other purpoſe except to cover their real intentions. But as he was known to poſſeſs conſiderable credit with Wenceſlaus, by whoſe patronage he was ſhortly after raiſed to the important poſt of *Rector*, his adverſaries dropped the proſecution, convinced that the moment was unfavorable for the execution of their ſecret plans.

Such was the ſtate of things at Prague, when a council aſſembled at Piſa, for the expreſs purpoſe of terminating all the diſorders of the church.

Huſs and his party, upon this occaſion, following the example of the univerſity of Paris, declared in favor of the council, while the archbiſhop as warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of Gregory the twelfth. This difference of ſentiment, upon ſo eſſential a point, re-kindled the dormant flame. Huſs was again attacked for the ſingularity of his tenets, while he retorted in vague and general declamations againſt the honors and dignities of the church. But the current of popular opinion ran ſtrongly in favor of the *new* doctrines. The neceſſity of a reform was inſiſted upon, by all ranks of people, who were not intereſted in the abuſes which prevailed. Even the lower orders of the clergy were hurried away by the current, and re-echoed the ſame invectives from their pulpits. The avarice, the intemperance, the diſſolute practices of the eccleſiaſtics, were every where a ſubject of ſatire and complaint. and are so still. 1825.

While the public mind was univerſally agitated by diſcuſſions of this nature, it is no wonder that Huſs was liſtened to with attention and applauſe. Oppoſition gave freſh energy to his character, and he now ventured publicly to aſſert, that the laity would be authoriſed in ſtripping the clergy of their ſuperfluous wealth, as the *ſhorteſt and ſureſt means* of reſtoring them to their primitive innocence. Nor can we be much ſurpriſed, if a doctrine, ſo repugnant

repugnant to the temporal intereſts of the church, ſhould be branded with every opprobrious epithet which the violence of party could deviſe. But it was, at the ſame time, too congruous to the wiſhes and paſſions of the laity, not to be received by them with general approbation. While the inferior clergy felt a malignant pleaſure in beholding their ſuperiors deprived of thoſe honors and emoluments, to which they themſelves could never hope to attain.

Huſs was well aware of the danger to which he was expoſed. But when a man has once engaged in ſo perilous an enterpriſe, pride alone is in general ſufficient to prevent him from receding. Both from the pulpit, and the profeſſor's chair, he boldly inculcated his favorite tenets, and ventured even to recommend the uſe of the ſcriptures, in the mother tongue. It was now, for the firſt time, that the archbiſhop began ſeriouſly to be alarmed. He felt the weakneſs of his cauſe. He dreaded the effects of too near an inveſtigation.

Of all the books, that genius and philoſophy have preſented to the world, none poſſibly has contributed ſo effectually to the overthrow of papal power, as the *Goſpel*. The grand arcanum of popiſh policy was to conceal the *Book of Truth*, × like

× Epiſcopalian policy is much the ſame.

like the inner ſanctuary of the Jewiſh tabernacle, from the profane gaze of the vulgar. The prelate now perceived that nothing was left for him, but to accuſe Huſs, as an innovator, and heretic, before the court of Rome. And to give more color to the charge, he cauſed the writings of Wickliffe to be publicly burnt; and ordered Huſs to quit the univerſity. But his baniſhment ſerved only to augment the number of his diſciples. So averſe are mankind to perſecution!

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the council aſſembled at Conſtance. Huſs had, at different times, been cited to appear at Rome, but he was too well acquainted with the vindictive ſpirit of an eccleſiaſtical tribunal, to obey the ſummons. But having received *letters of ſafe conduct* from the emperor, he entertained no apprehenſions whatever from venturing upon a journey to Conſtance. This action has by ſome been taxed with raſhneſs. But what mortal foreſight could guard againſt a deed, which is unequalled in the annals of human treachery? Huſs was no ſtranger to the violence of his opponents. He knew that he had offended them in the tendereſt part. Yet he ſtill believed that they were men. And as ſuch he confided in them. No ſooner, however, had he entered Conſtance, with his diſciple Jerome of Prague,

Prague, than to their utter aſtoniſhment, ~~ſo~~ as well as to that of the whole Bohemian nation, they were both arreſted, and confined.

Sigiſmund was ſenſibly affected at the outrage that was thus offered to his authority. In the bitterneſs of his grief, he wrote a letter to Prague, in which he expreſſed himſelf in the following words: "God only knows the anguiſh that I "have endured! He alone can tell the efforts I "have made in defence of Huſs. But all is vain! "The Bohemians, who are here, will bear wit-"neſs to the truth of what I ſay. More than "once have I threatened to quit this city.' But "the fathers of the church inſiſt, that if I oppoſe "the legal exerciſe of juſtice, their miſſion is at "an end; and that in ſuch caſe, I alone muſt "ſtand accountable to the world, for which all is "left undone. What anſwer could I return to "arguments like theſe? What remained for me "to do, but to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the "times?"

The foregoing epiſtle gives us a perfect inſight into the character of Sigiſmund. The natural integrity of an honeſt heart is plainly diſcernable amid the doubts and fears of an irreſolute bigot. The fathers were acquainted with his infirmity, they knew how eaſily he was intimidated, and took

advantage of his weakneſs. At the ſame time, they employed the moſt ingenious caſuiſts to aſſuage his ſcruples, with regard to this atrocious breach of public faith. The arguments they made uſe of were calculated for the underſtanding of the man, to whom they were addreſſed, and turned upon that moſt abominable of all principles, which was ever deviſed as a ſnare for credulity, THE GUILT OF KEEPING A PROMISE MADE TO A HERETIC. They repreſented to him, in an artful manner, that no engagements, nor oaths, however ſolemn, were any longer valid, when repugnant to the intereſts of the church. When her glory was concerned, no human laws were binding. With blind ſubmiſſion, it was the duty of man to embrace her defence, and *to ſtrike the blow, if commanded, without preſuming to enquire, who might be the victim.*

Huſs no ſooner found himſelf abandoned by the emperor, than he inſiſted upon a public trial. The requeſt was granted, though not without difficulty. But from the very firſt ſitting, it was evident what kind of treatment he had to expect; for the proceedings of the court were conducted with ſuch indecent violence, and tumultuous confuſion, that his voice could ſcarcely be heard. At a ſubſequent meeting, he was allowed to anſwer to a few only of the numerous articles, which were

were exhibited againſt him. Among the reſt, he was accuſed of aſſerting, *that a vicious pope was no pope with regard to ſpiritual power, and could not, therefore, exerciſe any legal authority over the faithful.* The charge being read, he modeſtly requeſted the aſſembly to point out the heretical tendency of ſuch an opinion, before he was required to recant it. This was no eaſy taſk. The judges, therefore, in order to avoid any difficulties of a ſimilar nature, which the ingenuity of the criminal might raiſe, came at once to the profligate deciſion, *that it was unworthy men, who were endued with the gift of the holy ſpirit, to make uſe of any arguments to confute a heretic. It was their duty alone to puniſh him.* Upon this, all further conference was broken off. Recantation, or death, were the only alternatives offered. The latter, indeed, was of a nature to revolt every mind, that was ſenſible to the feelings of humanity, or converſant with the laws of honor. But when men are blinded by fanatic zeal, they are inſenſible to every ſentiment but revenge.

Sigiſmund, no leſs from motives of policy than of generoſity, made uſe of every argument, that compaſſion could dictate, to overcome the firmneſs of the priſoner. But Huſs was inflexible, and rejected every propoſition with a noble diſdain, as unbecoming the dignity of his character. "He

"had

" had ſtood forth," he ſaid, " in defence of truth. " He had acted from conviction, uninfluenced by " worldly motives. And preferred expoſing him- " ſelf to the ſevereſt tortures, that the refinements " of cruelty could inflict, rather than ſubſcribe to " errors, which he had ſo repeatedly expoſed, and " which his conſcience taught him to reject."

Sentence was now paſſed upon him as an incorrigible heretic, and he was delivered over to the civil magiſtrate for his execution, which took place within a few days. His behavior, during the whole of this trying ſcene, was every way worthy his former life. With a firm, but placid countenance, he ſupported all the agonies of a lingering death. The fortitude of the ſtoic was ſoftened by the mild benevolence of the chriſtian, and his laſt prayers were offered to heaven for the cauſe of truth, the triumph of which he anticipated with prophetic rapture.

Jerome of Prague, his conſtant companion and diſciple, who, in a moment of weakneſs, had conſented to retract his opinions, felt his courage revive at the glorious example of his martyred friend. With heroic fortitude he expiated the error which he had committed, and died amidſt the flames, ſinging praiſes to his Redeemer. Poggio, an Italian, who was ſucceſſively ſecretary to ſeveral

veral popes, and who was himſelf an eye-witneſs to this cruel ſpectacle, compares his death to that of Socrates.

The fatal conſequences which aroſe from this atrocious violation of the moſt ſolemn promiſe, with the ſubſequent victories of the renowned Ziſca, are foreign to the preſent ſubject. But they ſhould ſerve as a tremendous leſſon to the advocates for perſecution, and teach them, that though fire and the ſword may deliver them for a while from the attacks of individuals, they will never ſilence reaſon, nor extirpate faith.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Inſurrection in the Valais—War with the Duke of Milan—Battle of St. Paul—Troubles in Appenzel —The Rhætian League.

NO ſooner were the Swiſs in tranquil poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, than they turned their thoughts to freſh acquiſitions on the ſide of Italy. While the attention of the greater part of Europe, and particularly of the Helvetic cantons, had been engaged with the proceedings of the council of Conſtance, the inhabitants of the Valais took up arms againſt their governor, and the biſhop of Sion, both of whom were deſcended from the illuſtrious houſe of Raron—a family, which during the late irruption of the confederates into the Levantine vale, had ſided with the duke of Milan. But before we enter more minutely into the events of the Italian war, it will be requiſite to take ſome notice of the cauſes, from which this inſurrection aroſe.

The Valais was divided into ſeven diſtricts or *communities*, each of which was diſtinguiſhed by it's

it's peculiar privileges, and formed a kind of independant republic, while the whole were closely united by a federative league. Since the days of Charlemagne, the bishops of Sion had invariably enjoyed a kind of feudal pre-eminence over the whole confederacy. In them was vested the highest criminal jurisdiction, which was exercised through the medium of a governor. Such was this complex arrangement of jarring powers, whose limits were uncertain, and consequently open to continual abuses. Indeed, had the genius of man been employed in devising a system of government, the avowed object of which was to promote dissentions, none could have been invented more applicable to the purpose, than that of the Valais. For as, on the one hand, the episcopal prerogatives were far greater than was consistent with the essence of a free constitution; so on the other, the immunities, enjoyed by the people, were of a nature to inspire them with the love of liberty, without being sufficient perfectly to establish it.

Discontents had mutually prevailed for a long time, between the bishops and the different communities, when the powerful family of Raron having united the civil to the ecclesiastical authority, sought by every possible method to increase it. For this purpose, they courted the friendship and alliance of the dukes of Milan and Savoy; and having

having ſucceeded according to their wiſhes, Guiſcard, the governor, no longer ſet any bounds to his arrogance. Among other inſtances of imprudent vanity, he was frequently heard to vaunt, that it was fortunate for the Swiſs he had not fallen in with them, during their late invaſion of Italy; for otherwiſe not one man of them would have eſcaped to relate their tale of woe.

1414. Inſults are frequently reſented with greater acrimony than real injuries. The brave inhabitants of Uri and Unterwalden, were no ſooner informed of this ſarcaſtic boaſt, than they ſwore to afford Guiſcard an early opportunity of diſplaying his proweſs; and no longer heſitated to take part with the inſurgents.

Guiſcard, from the very beginning of the troubles, had applied to the Berners for aſſiſtance, as a co-burgher of the republic. But he received for anſwer, that a co-burgher of Berne was never known to bear arms againſt the Helvetic confederacy. So that whatever might have been his former connection, the conduct he had purſued, during the Italian war, deprived him of every claim to their protection. But they were at length prevailed upon, at the interceſſion of Sigiſmund, to mitigate their reſentment, and to promiſe both ſpeedy and effectual aid. Friburg, too, upon the firſt

firſt application, nominated a commiſſion, for the expreſs purpoſe of effecting a reconciliation between the contending parties.

Finding, however, that his allies were backward in fulfilling their engagements, and unable ſingly to reſiſt the ſtorm, Guiſcard embraced the expedient of laying down his office, hoping, by this partial ſacrifice, to preſerve his hereditary eſtates. But the ſpirit of inſurrection, when once excited, is not ſo eaſily allayed. The inſurgents continued their perſecutions; and having forced the biſhop to ſhelter himſelf in the citadel of Sion, they laid waſte his patrimonial domain, and deſtroyed ſeveral other fortreſſes, in the vicinity of the epiſcopal ſee.

1415. The following year they proceeded with ſtill greater violence, threatening to force the unhappy prelate in his laſt retreat; while he, perceiving the impoſſibility of a long reſiſtance, prepared to ſurrender his few remaining caſtles to Amadeus of Savoy, who had been lately raiſed to the rank of *duke*, by the emperor. By this mark of confidence, he flattered himſelf to procure a powerful ally. But gratitude was not among the virtues of Amadeus. The calculating politics of the houſe of Savoy having duly weighed all the dangers and diſadvantages of engaging in a war, where

where nothing more was to be gained, beſides a chimerical phantom, which they rarely purſued, the duke preferred the ſafer policy of evacuating, for a bribe, the moſt important of the fortreſſes which he had undertaken to defend, and which was no ſooner given up to the inſurgents, than it was levelled with the ground.

1416. The diſtreſſes of their old ally at length excited the compaſſion of the Berners; and as they were now at leiſure from other enterpriſes, they reſolved to afford him ſome effectual relief. Beſides, the exceſſes committed by the inſurgents, had given umbrage to the other cantons, ſo that in all probability a general combination of the Helvetic ſtates would have taken place in favor of the Raron family, had not the Valaiſans found means to draw over the foreſt cantons to their party. The communities of Munſter and Arnen, which are ſituated at the eaſtern extremity of the Valais, had long expreſſed an earneſt wiſh of being received into their alliance; and had offered, by way of inducement, to aſſiſt in the conqueſt of the vale of Oſſola; which they knew to be an object that the Swiſs had much at heart.

The temptation was too ſtrong to be reſiſted. The league was formed, and the expedition undertaken without further delay. Little oppoſition was

was made. A detachment of Milaneſe, under the command of the count of Cremagnola, who had orders to cover Italy, fell back upon their approach, and experienced the mortification of ſeeing Domo d'Oſſola, the capital of this little province, taken, and deſtroyed, before their very eyes. The confederated Valaiſans, who had ſhared in the danger, partook alſo in the ſpoil, and were admitted to a ſhare in the conquered territory. Thus the bond of union was every day drawn cloſer. The ſimilarity of manners which exiſted between the two nations, added to their mutual zeal for a democratic government, formed a point of union more permanent, than any which diplomacy, with all it's complex forms, has ever eſtabliſhed.

1417. In the courſe of the following year, the five other communities were likewiſe admitted into the alliance. The invaſion of Italy had been long an object to which the inhabitants of Uri and Unterwalden looked forward with anticipated hope; and the acceſſion of ſtrength they had now acquired, induced them to ſelect the preſent moment for the execution of this dangerous project. Having advanced to the lake of Lugano in conſiderable force, they drove the Milaneſe from all their poſts, and returned with a valuable

booty, but without effecting any permanent advantage.

1418. Upon the renewal of hoſtilities, the enſuing ſpring, no effort was left untried, which appeared likely to engage the Berners to take part in the war: but thoſe wary politicians had already reaped ſo rich a harveſt of glory, that nothing could any longer tempt them to renew their toils, except the proſpect of a proportionate reward. Beſides, their partiality for the adverſe party was daily increaſing; as the violent proceedings of the inſurgents rendered them more obnoxious every day.

This difference of ſentiment, upon ſo important a point, gave birth to a ſpirit of animoſity, which never afterwards entirely ſubſided. The Berners made no ſecret of their intentions of ſupporting the houſe of Raron; who had ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle of Sion, where they were cloſely beſieged by the popular party: while the Lucerners as peremptorily declared their reſolution of ſupporting their new allies, let the event be what it would.

Sigiſmund, at this important criſis, arrived at Zuric, where he was informed of the miſunderſtanding

ſtanding which prevailed among the confederates. Upon this, he determined to go in perſon to the diet, which was then ſitting at Lucerne, with the double view of bringing about a reconciliation between the contending cantons, and then engaging the whole confederacy to join him in making war upon the duke of Milan.

The mediation of the emperor, which was extended to all the hoſtile parties, was ſo far ſucceſsful, that it procured a ſafe retreat, from the caſtle of Sion, for the unfortunate family of Raron. The baroneſs, with the biſhop and her children, now joined her huſband at Berne, when the affecting picture of beauty in diſtreſs wrought ſo forcibly upon the public mind, that it excited a general ſentiment of indignation againſt her unfeeling perſecutors.

Perceiving that the current of popular opinion ran ſtrongly in favor of coercive meaſures, the ſenate now reſolved upon reducing the inſurgents by force of arms, and reinſtating the illuſtrious exiles in their hereditary rights. For this purpoſe, a ſmall body of troops was immediately aſſembled, and placed under the command of Guiſcard. But this force was unequal to any enterprize of importance: ſo that after he had ravaged the frontiers of the Valais, and carried off whatever he

could find, Guiſcard thought it prudent to retreat before a body of armed peaſants, who had collected in conſiderable numbers to oppoſe him.

While Zuric, Schweitz, Zug, and Glaris, were occupied in projects for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, Berne ſummoned both Uri and Unterwalden to join her ſtandard as members of the confederacy, and to unite with her in reducing the inſurgents. To this application ſhe received for anſwer, "That according to the tenor of the Helvetic bond, the canton of Lucerne had a prior claim upon them, and had actually called for their aſſiſtance." Upon this, the Berners propoſed, *that in conformity to the eſtabliſhed uſages of the confederacy, the diſpute between the inſurgents and the houſe of Raron ſhould be referred to an arbitration.* An offer of this nature could not, in decency, be rejected by any people, who retained the ſmalleſt regard for public character. Several conferences were accordingly held; but ſuch was the obſtinacy of the different parties, that the integrity of the Helvetic union was more than once in danger of falling a ſacrifice to a diſpute, in which neither party had any real intereſt.

Guiſcard, meanwhile, was indefatigable in his endeavours to recover his patrimonial eſtates; nor was he leſs anxious to revenge himſelf upon his inveterate

inveterate foes. Yet wherever he directed his march, he found the enemy prepared to meet him. However, while the inſurgents were occupied in diſputing every inch of territory with their former lord, the Berners, availing themſelves of the moment, paſſed the Sanetſberg without oppoſition; and having laid waſte the adjacent country, and carried off a conſiderable booty, they returned without the ſmalleſt loſs.

1419. At length, through the mediation of the neutral cantons, an armiſtice was concluded till the following year. Early in the ſpring a congreſs met at Zuric, when it was agreed, by mutual conſent, that the final deciſion of this important conteſt ſhould be referred to the arbitration of eight perſons, choſen from thoſe cantons which had taken no part in the war. But the deputies from the Valais, having diſcovered that the ſentence was likely to prove in their diſfavor, quitted Zuric in an abrupt manner, without waiting for the iſſue. Immediately upon their return, hoſtilities were recommenced by their turbulent countrymen, with greater fury than ever.

So palpable a violation of a ſolemn contract excited general indignation. Union was once more eſtabliſhed among the confederates, who unanimouſly agreed that forbearance, under ſuch cir-

cumſtances, was daſtardly and diſgraceful, and that more efficacious meaſures ought to be purſued. A body of five thouſand men was accordingly aſſembled in the vicinity of Thun, and ordered to penetrate into the Valais, through the defiles of thoſe ſtupendous mountains which ſeparate it from the canton of Berne, and which are ſcarcely practicable during the few months of ſummer, that cheers thoſe inhoſpitable regions of eternal ſnow. Notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the difficulties which preſented themſelves at every ſtep, all obſtacles were at length ſurmounted. The confederates entered the Valais, and defeated the inſurgents in ſeveral partial encounters, though they were unable to bring them to a general engagement.

The reſult of this expedition having by no means anſwered the public expectation, and moſt of the cantons now manifeſting a diſpoſition to co-operate with the Berners in a general attack, another army was aſſembled without delay, which amounted to little leſs than thirteen thouſand men. Having paſſed the Grimſel, they laid the whole country under contribution, reducing the villages to aſhes, wherever they experienced the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. This triumph, however, was of ſhort duration: for a ſudden fall of ſnow expoſing them to the danger of being cut

cut off from all communication with Berne, and conſequently of ſtarving in a country which could not furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies, they haſtened back with precipitation, though not without loſs, as a flying body hung upon their rear, and took advantage of their local knowledge to annoy them during the reſt of their march.

1420. All parties were by this time grown weary of a war, which exhauſted their reſources, without affording the proſpect of any adequate advantage, and appeared equally inclined to an accommodation. By mutual conſent, the deciſion of all exiſting differences was referred to the duke of Savoy, who gave the following decree: "That "as an indemnification for the outrages they had "committed, and the damage they had occa- "ſioned, the inſurgents ſhould pay the ſum of "ten thouſand florins to the baron of Raron, "beſides reſtoring all the property which they "had unjuſtly ſeized. That the republic of Berne "ſhould receive an equal ſum for the expences of "the war. That four thouſand ſhould be given "to the church of Sion, and one thouſand to the "arbitrator, in conſideration of his trouble."

Thus ended a war, which would ſcarcely deſerve to occupy the reader's attention, did it not exhibit the firſt inſtance of any material interrup-

tion to that harmony, which had hitherto prevailed among the members of the Helvetic union. Little, indeed, had been wanting to light the torch of diſcord in the very boſom of the confederacy. When at this diſtance of time, we coolly and impartially examine the motives, by which both parties were influenced, we are aſtoniſhed to ſee that they could riſk all the happineſs and proſperity, which they ſo abundantly enjoyed, for an object that was comparatively of ſuch trivial import. But the more nearly we inveſtigate the heart of man, the more cauſe we ſhall diſcover to lament his weakneſs and infirmity. Inſtead of a wiſe and intelligent being, acting from the reſult of reaſon and experience, we behold a wretched compound of pride and folly; a creature ever ready to contend for ſtraws, and to ſacrifice his deareſt intereſts at the ſhrine of vanity.

Among a people, naturally of ſo reſtleſs a diſpoſition, no permanent tranquillity could be expected. No ſooner, therefore, was the houſe of Raron re-eſtabliſhed in it's hereditary ſplendor, than the cantons of Uri and Unterwalden revived their former project of a joint attack upon the Milaneſe. As a temptation to the reſt of their allies, they urged all the advantages, in point of ſecurity, which the confederacy would derive from the poſſeſſion of a conſiderable diſtrict on the frontiers

tiers of Italy. By commanding all the paſſes of the St. Gothard, a handful of men might defend their native country againſt a hoſt of foes. While in a commercial point of view, the object was no leſs deſerving attention: the communication with Lombardy would become free and uninterrupted, and would ſecure to them an ample ſupply of grain in all caſes of emergency.

1421. Both Uri and Unterwalden had recently entered into an alliance with the baron of Sax, who was then in poſſeſſion of Bellinzona, and who was apparently living in a continual ſtate of warfare with the duke of Milan. But the open character of theſe honeſt mountaineers, was by no means a match for the duplicity of a people, who conſider deceit and treachery as the moſt eſſential qualities of a finiſhed ſtateſman. Thus, while they repoſed an entire confidence in the integrity of their new ally, ſecret intelligence was brought, that he was actually carrying on a private correſpondence with the duke of Milan, of which they were the deſtined victims. Convinced that no time was to be loſt, they no ſooner received the information, than a detachment was ſent off, to ſeize upon Bellinzona; and the commiſſion was executed with ſuch diſpatch, that they were actually maſters of the town, before the enemy was appriſed of their march.

The

The principal inhabitants being now convened, they were made acquainted with the perfidious conduct of the baron, which the Swiſs conſidered as a ſufficient juſtification of their own proceedings. They further ſtated, that no views of ambition had directed their arms. Security was the object for which they contended And as a further proof of the honeſty of their intentions, they were ready even then to purchaſe the town, with all it's dependancies. Such an offer to a captured city was too ſeducing to be withſtood. The conditions too were readily ſettled, as the burghers were eaſily ſatisfied, foreſeeing all the dangers with which they were menaced from the prevalence of either party—both of whom they were equally unable to reſiſt.

The duke of Milan was now as clamorous in his complaints, as if he had been unconſcious of all ſiniſter views. He treated the action as a groſs violation of public faith; alleged his ancient pretenſions upon Bellinzona; and inſiſted upon immediate reſtitution. But the confederates turned a deaf ear to all his remonſtrances, and availing themſelves of the miſunderſtanding which ſubſiſted between him and the emperor, obtained, from the latter, a grant of their newly acquired territory.

In

1422. In this precarious ſtate things remained for ſome time, neither party appearing deſirous to commence hoſtilities, and confining themſelves equally to meaſures of defence. Philip, however, had his eye continually fixed upon Bellinzona, and waited only for a favorable moment to poſſeſs himſelf of that important place. The occaſion was not long wanting. Lulled into ſecurity by the apparent inactivity of the enemy, the garriſon grew daily more remiſs in the performance of their duty; while Philip was continually gaining the principal inhabitants by the liberality of his preſents, and the magnificence of his promiſes; till having drawn over the majority of them to his party, he availed himſelf of the intelligence which was given him, to ſurpriſe the garriſon during the holy week; and made himſelf maſter of the town, without meeting with the ſmalleſt reſiſtance.

Philip, however, was too well acquainted with the temper of his adverſaries, to ſuppoſe that they would ſit down contented with their loſs. He therefore reſolved to be before-hand with them, and vigorouſly attacking the ſmall detachments which were ſcattered over the Levantine vale, he drove them before him to the inacceſſible faſtneſſes of the St. Gothard.

A gene-

A general ſpirit of indignation now ſpread itſelf over the foreſt cantons. "To arms! To arms!" was the univerſal cry. "Let us march to Milan! "Let us teach the perfidious Italians what Helve- "tic valor can perform!" Such were the acclamations which flowed from every mouth: ſuch were the ſentiments which animated every boſom. In every hamlet, the ardent youth ſeized their ſwords with patriotic enthuſiaſm, and would have inſtantly departed upon the perilous enterprize, had not their more provident leaders ſuggeſted the neceſſity of previous arrangements. This prudent council, was, however, far from meeting the reception it merited. Delay was treated as diſhonorable. "Why waſte our time in uſeleſs pre- "parations?" cried the young and inexperienced, "the fertile plains of Lombardy will furniſh us "with ample ſupplies." To this the wiſer part of the aſſembly replied, "That ſomething more "was requiſite for the ſubſiſtence of an army, "than the viſionary ſtores on which they de- "pended."

Meanwhile the troops aſſembled, and directed their courſe towards Milan. Four hundred archers from Zuric formed the van. The main body, conſiſting of little more than three thouſand men, followed at a convenient diſtance; while the rear was

was a day's march behind, and was compoſed of the contingents from Schweitz and Glaris.

From the diminutive force of this little armament, we may, without heſitation, pronounce that a change had taken place in the Helvetic character, which was by no means advantageous. There was a time, indeed, when the whole nation would have flown, in a collective body, to retrieve the honor of the Helvetic arms. But thoſe days of Romantic enthuſiaſm were paſt, and the armies of Helvetia now required ſomething more ſubſtantial than a viſionary plume to draw them from the profitable purſuits of agriculture and commerce. It is true, that all the cantons, Berne alone excepted, had furniſhed their reſpective contingents; but they had adhered implicitly to the letter of their engagement, while the latter refuſed moſt peremptorily to take any part in the Italian war.

Philip was appriſed of their movements, and had aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, under the command of the counts of Carmagnola and Pergola, two of the moſt conſummate generals of the age. The great object of the Italian commanders was to diſguiſe their numbers, that the enemy might fall an eaſy prey. For this purpoſe, their troops were poſted behind the walls of Bellinzona, and in the adjacent villages, where they

they were entirely concealed by the projecting rocks.

In this ſituation, Carmagnola was informed that a body of ſix hundred Swiſs had been detached upon a foraging party, while the reſt were advancing upon the banks of the Ticino with little order or regularity. Upon this, he changed his plan, and determined upon an immediate attack. Having made his diſpoſitions accordingly, he ſent Pergola, with a numerous cavalry, to begin the engagement, and to endeavor, if poſſible, to cut off the detachment, while he followed at the head of the infantry.

The confederates, who had not the remoteſt idea of encountering any obſtacles in their route, were ſeized with diſmay and conſternation at the unexpected charge, which was ſtill further increaſed by the appearance of Carmagnola, who was ſeen in the diſtant windings of the ſerpentine vale. As they were already engaged with Pergola, it was in vain to think of a retreat. Nothing, therefore, was left for them, except to gain an eminence, where, from the nature of the ground, they could not be ſurrounded, and to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible. But their loſs was conſiderable ere this could be effected. The Lucerners, who, at that time, formed the van, ſuffered ſeverely.

verely. Their banner was more than once in danger; but the ſtandard-bearer, placing it under his feet, reſolved that nothing ſhould force him from the ſpot, while he had life to defend it. The men of Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden, now came forward to the ſuccor of their exhauſted friends. They defended themſelves with the deſperate courage of men who were reſolved to die. The ſtandard-bearer of Uri fell. An Italian ſeized the banner, and was upon the point of carrying it off in triumph; when a gallant mountaineer, who had witneſſed the fate of his companion, ruſhed forward. With one hand he ſlew the foe, with the other he graſped the ſacred pledge, and waving it on high, exclaimed in exſtacy, "*We may die,* "*but it will be with glory!*"

Unfortunately for the Swiſs, the cloſeneſs of the combat rendered their pikes and halberds, in great meaſure, uſeleſs; yet in ſpite of every diſadvantage, ſuch was the obſtinacy with which they fought, that Pergola deemed it adviſable to make his men diſmount, and to renew the combat on foot. At this important moment, the foraging party returned, and contributed eſſentially to ſave the remains of the army from utter deſtruction.

Carmagnola, who was now fully convinced that the enemy would reſiſt to the laſt man, retired to Bellinzona,

Bellinzona, towards the cloſe of day; while the Swiſs poſted themſelves behind the Meuſa, a torrent, which deſcending from the Rhætian hills, throws itſelf into the Ticino, at a ſmall diſtance from that town.

In this memorable engagement, which the Swiſs hiſtorians have called the battle of St. Paul, from the day* on which it took place, about four hundred periſhed on the ſide of the confederates, while the loſs of the Italians exceeded a thouſand men. The fight commenced at nine in the morning, and laſted till duſk. During the whole of it, Carmagnola continued to pour in freſh troops, in the room of thoſe who were exhauſted with fatigue, or diſabled with wounds.

Scarce were the combatants ſeparated, when the contingents of Schweitz and Glaris, which were, as we before obſerved, a day's march in the rear, appeared on the oppoſite bank of the river, from thence to witneſs the melancholy deſtiny of their friends. Their abſence, upon this memorable occaſion, was a fatal blow to the army, as in all former wars the valor of that intrepid people had contributed eſſentially to ſucceſs. But the confederates had been too long accuſtomed to vic-

* The feſtival of St. Paul.

tory,

tory, to ſupport a reverſe of fortune with becoming fortitude. Unwilling to acknowledge the imprudence of their own conduct, they endeavoured to throw the blame upon the Schweitzers, whom they accuſed of unneceſſary delay; while the latter were equally forward in condemning the raſhneſs of their friends, for having expoſed themſelves in ſo unguarded a manner.

The proud ſpirit of the Schweitzers could ill brook the imputation of backwardneſs, when the honor of their country was at ſtake. They accordingly objected, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to a retrograde march; inſiſting, that it was neceſſary to recover the tarniſhed glory of the Helvetic arms, before they turned their backs upon Italy. But the army had ſuffered too ſeverely to accede to the propoſal. Proviſions too ran ſhort, and in caſe Carmagnola ſhould decline a battle, nothing could be done, as they were entirely deſtitute of every implement that was requiſite for a ſiege. A retreat was accordingly determined upon, and effected without loſs, as the enemy ſuffered them to depart unmoleſted. But the Schweitzers reſolving to retrieve their credit by ſome action worthy their former reputation, laid waſte the country to the very gates of Bellinzona, and braved the enemy within their walls.

1423. Hitherto no immediate bond of union had ſubſiſted between the commonwealths of Berne and Zuric, though they were cloſely connected by their reciprocal engagements with the foreſt cantons. But finding that the limits of their reſpective territories were daily approximating, they thought a more intimate alliance neceſſary, and a treaty was accordingly ſigned. Both in peace and in war, the ſame ſpirit was common to both. Hence the preſent interval of repoſe was employed in making various acquiſitions by contract. By the transfer of a mortgage, Zuric obtained poſſeſſion of the county of Kyburg, with the conſent of Sigiſmund. This proved an acquiſition of the greateſt moment, not only to the purchaſers, but to the whole confederacy; as it formed a barrier againſt the Auſtrians on the ſide of Thurgau. Meanwhile the Berners, by a ſimilar negociation with the houſe of Savoy, extended their juriſdiction on the ſouthern frontier.

1425. The fatal iſſue of the battle of St. Paul was regarded by the Helvetic people as a national diſgrace, which they were bound in honor to efface. An enterpriſe was accordingly ſet on foot, but when the army aſſembled upon the banks of the Mueſa, it was found not to exceed four thouſand five hundred men. With ſo inadequate a force, it was judged inexpedient to attempt the

ſiege

ſiege of Bellinzona. And without making themſelves maſters of that important place, nothing material could be undertaken. The ſubject, therefore, having been thoroughly diſcuſſed, in a council of war, it was decided unanimouſly to return.

Theſe repeated miſcarriages produced ſo ſtrong a ſenſation upon the public mind, that it appeared eſſential, by ſome brilliant enterpriſe, to retrieve the honor of Helvetia, and revive the courage of her deſponding ſons. A ſelect body of five hundred men were choſen out for a rapid incurſion into the vale of Oſſola. Having croſſed the mountains unperceived, they availed themſelves of the darkneſs of the night to fall upon the town of Domo. The garriſon fled in confuſion, and left them in poſſeſſion of an eaſy conqueſt. The duke of Milan, however, was no ſooner made acquainted with what had happened, than his whole force was deſtined to retake it. But Carmagnola was no longer at their head. He had lately fallen a victim to the intrigues of a court, and was ſucceeded in his command by a man of very different talents. Having ſummoned the town to ſurrender, the general threatened to give no quarter, in caſe the ſlighteſt reſiſtance ſhould be made. But the Swiſs derided the empty menace, and declared their reſolution of defending themſelves to the laſt extremity.

At the firſt alarm of the enemy's approach, meſſengers had been diſpatched to Switzerland, with intelligence of the danger to which they were expoſed. Every member of the confederacy was now ſummoned to the field, and in a few days the whole nation appeared under arms. But the troops of the foreſt cantons being firſt in readineſs, they united themſelves with a ſmall detachment from Zug and Glaris, forming together a body of ſixteen hundred men. Anticipating the renown which they ſhould acquire, could they penetrate to the relief of Domo, before their numbers were augmented by additional reinforcements, they prevailed upon their commanders to lead to the attempt. Having climbed the ſteepeſt precipices, in ſpite of every oppoſition, they drove the Milaneſe from their entrenchments, and forced them to ſave themſelves during the night. Animated by this ſucceſs, they advanced with incredible rapidity, arrived in ſight of Domo, and encamped, in a ſtrong poſition, in face of the beſieging army. Aſſured that their preſence would give freſh courage to the garriſon, they determined to wait the arrival of reinforcements from Switzerland, before they attempted any thing further. Succors from all the cantons were already on their march. The Berners even had, at length, been prevailed upon to ſend four thouſand men, but with the expreſs declaration, that nothing ſhould henceforth

henceforth induce them to engage in a war, beyond the limits of the confederacy. Sixteen hundred Zurickers firſt joined the camp before Domo. They were followed by detachments, from Appenzel, Soleure, and the Valais. So that, in a ſhort time, the united force amounted to twenty-two thouſand fighting men. Upon this, they offered battle to the Italians. But the latter thought proper to avoid it by a precipitate retreat, leaving the confederates undiſputed maſters of the whole valley.

This laſt enterpriſe was conducted with ſuch prudence and ability, that it revived the ancient reputation of the Helvetic arms, and induced the duke of Milan to liſten with eagerneſs to the firſt overtures for peace, which were made, during the winter, by the biſhop of Sion, in conjunction with the deputies from Soleure. In the courſe 1426. of the following ſummer, the conditions too were finally arranged. The confederates, on their part, ſtipulated for an entire exemption from all tolls, and duties, for the ſpace of ten years, which had before been paid for merchandize, of every kind, in it's paſſage from Milan to Switzerland. Beſides this, they received the ſum of twenty-ſeven thouſand florins, by way of indemnification for the expences of the war; and in conſideration of all their claims upon the vale of

Oſſola, the town of Bellinzona, and the Levantine vale.

But ſuch was the diſtracted temper of the times, that tranquillity was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in one quarter, than hoſtilities commenced in another. Scarce had the confederates concluded a peace with Philip, than the flame of diſcord burſt forth anew between the Appenzellers and the abbot of St. Gall.

Henry of Gundolfingen, who ſucceeded to the unfortunate Cuno, by purſuing a contrary ſyſtem, had ultimately ſucceeded in reconciling the turbulent minds of the Appenzellers to the limited juriſdiction of the abbey. But this celebrated foundation ſcarce retained a veſtige of it's ancient ſplendor. The learned labors of antiquity, which from the library of St. Gall, had diffuſed light to ſurrounding nations, now lay in melancholy neglect, in an old, and mouldering tower, a prey to moths and worms.*

Some acts, in the adminiſtration of Gundolfingen, had given umbrage to the fathers at Con-

* We are indebted to Poggio for the preſervation of ſeveral curious manuſcripts, which would otherwiſe have periſhed in this convent.

ſtance,

ſtance, and induced them to depoſe him, under pretence that he was incapable of fulfilling any longer the duties of his ſtation. A Benedictine friar, named Conrad, was choſen for his ſucceſſor; but the monk had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new dignity, than perceiving that the convent was over-burdened with debts, and upon ill terms with all it's neighbors, he bid adieu to St. Gall, and leaving all his cares and honors to his chaplain, returned again to the tranquil retreat from whence he had been called.

The Appenzellers, who were diſſatisfied with theſe frequent changes, and regretted the mild adminiſtration of Gundolfingen, received their new abbot with ſuch marks of diſcontent, that a renewal of former troubles was much to be apprehended.

When called upon to perform the accuſtomed acts of allegiance, they peremptorily refuſed to acknowledge any ſuperior but Gundolfingen; or to receive any civil officers, except ſuch as were nominated by him. It was in vain for the new abbot, Mangiſtorf, to produce unqueſtionable documents, which proved the legality of his pretenſions.—"*Documents*, he was told, *were not made for* "*free men. It was by their ſwords that they had ac-*

" *quired independance, and with them they were re-*
" *ſolved to maintain it. Their freedom, they ſaid, de-*
" *pended not upon grants or charters, it was the gift*
" *of nature, and was written on the hearts of every*
" *individual, in characters which no human power*
" *could efface.*"

It is true, that the moſt prudent part of the community, who, as is commonly the caſe, formed the minority, ſtrove anxiouſly to prevail upon their countrymen to reſt ſatisfied with their preſent ſituation. But it is the lot of experience to warn in vain, when an infatuated people are bent upon their ruin. The far greater number, confiding in their own ſtrength, conſidered every civil inſtitution, which was calculated for the eſtabliſhment of a due ſubordination among the different ranks of ſociety, as an infringement upon the natural and inherent rights of man. Every thing that fell ſhort of perfect, and uncontroled liberty, was, in their eſtimation, ſlavery. For it was in vain to tell them, that unconditional freedom was incompatible with all ſocial inſtitutions, and could only be enjoyed by man in the rudeſt ſtate of nature; but that from the moment he quitted his foreſts, and became a gregarious animal, he was reſtrained by cuſtom, and confined by law.

Theſe

Theſe were doctrines with which they were unacquainted, and which they deſired not to underſtand. The ſame principles, which they laid down as rules for their own conduct, they thought equally applicable to the reſt of the world. Whoever was oppreſſed by the tyranny of eſtabliſhed governments, found protection and ſecurity amid the inacceſſible mountains of Appenzel. But they were received only upon condition, that they ſhould henceforth renounce all feudal ſervices, and refuſe the payment of contributions of every deſcription; as the Appenzellers declared, that from the moment a man ſet his foot upon their territory, he became free; and imparted the bleſſing of freedom to the ſoil he inherited, whatever might be the country in which it was ſituated.

Of all the Helvetic people, the brave Schweitzers alone poſſeſſed any real influence over their licentious minds, for they were conſidered by them as friends, and as lovers of freedom. Nor were they leſs warm aſſertors of liberty for underſtanding her rights a little better. Among them, the wild tide of paſſion had, in a great degree, ſubſided; and enthuſiaſm yielded to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon. But be it ſaid, to their immortal honor, that even during the firſt fervor of a revolution, they never loſt ſight of the fundamental principles of juſtice. While they limited the abuſe of power,

power, they preſerved inviolate all the legal claims of the feudal conſtitution.

But by the Appenzellers all claims were equally diſregarded. To the repeated remonſtrances of the new abbot, they replied, "that the tyranny "of Cuno had broken all former compacts, and "releaſed them from every veſtige of dependance." The abbot, upon this, offered to refer the diſpute to the Suabian towns; but they abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to any decree, which was not dictated by men, who were equally independant with themſelves. This was clearly pointing to the Helvetic confederacy. And Mangiſtorf, perceiving that their reſolution was unſhaken, found it neceſſary to comply. The confederates, however, on their part, conſented with reluctance to accept the office, as they felt all the delicacy of a commiſſion, in which they had equally to combat againſt the prejudices of the one, and the violence of the other. At length, however, fourteen perſons were named by Zuric, Zug, Glaris, and the foreſt cantons. They were men of tried prudence, and unqueſtioned probity. After ten months ſpent in continual reſearches, a day was fixed for the final deciſion. The abbot attended, in perſon, but the commiſſioners from Appenzel came without any powers to conclude. All repreſentations were vain, and the aſſembly ſeparated.

Another

Another meeting took place at Hunfwyl; but the Appenzellers ſtill perſevered in their obſtinate refuſal to liſten to reaſon. The only anſwer that could be extorted from them was, "that God, and "their ſwords, had made them free, and that they "would never conſent to truſt their liberties in "the hands of mortals."

A third conference took place at Lucerne. The commiſſioners from Appenzel beſought the delegates to give no decree, ſince nothing could engage their countrymen to obey it. The abbot, diſguſted at theſe repeated delays, preſſed eagerly for a deciſion. Sentence was accordingly paſſed. It was dictated by a ſpirit of moderation, and equity, which did honor to the integrity of the judges; but ſtill, as is common in ſuch caſes, it contented neither party. The ſum ſtipulated, for the indemnification of the convent, was conſidered by the abbot as inadequate to the rights which he relinquiſhed; while the Appenzellers were indignant at the idea of paying any thing for the purchaſe of a bleſſing, which they already ſo fully enjoyed. The latter, too, obſerved ſuch articles only as pleaſed them, but ſtill continued their preparations for war.

In vain did Mangiſtorf appeal to the emperor, to the Germanic body, and to the Helvetic ſtates.

In

In vain, too, did the latter ſend deputies to induce the Appenzellers to ſubmit. From the moment that they ceaſed to ſpeak of unlimited freedom, their advice had no longer any weight.

Experience had now fully evinced the inefficacy of all amicable attempts to reduce theſe intractable anarchiſts to legal ſubordination. But the terrors of religion were as yet untried, and to
1425. them it was determined to have recourſe.

In the name, and by the authority of the pope, the biſhop of Conſtance laid an interdict upon the whole land of Appenzel. From the moment this dreadful ſentence was uttered, every ceremony of religion ceaſed. The warning bell no longer ſummoned the faithful to the conſecrated table. The temples of the Almighty were cloſed, and as if the ear of mercy had been ſhut for ever againſt the cry of repentance, the contrite ſinner now ſupplicated in vain for thoſe conſoling rites, which inſpire confidence to the departing ſoul. The myſtic ſign of regeneration was no longer adminiſtered to the new-born infant. The nuptial benediction was with-held from the bride. All funeral obſequies were denied to the dead.

The effect produced by this tremendous change was deep and inſtantaneous. Overwhelmed with terror and aſtoniſhment, the aged and the women flocked

flocked in crowds to the conſecrated ground, and knelt before the doors of the churches. No prieſt appeared to open the ſacred manſion. Dejected, forlorn, and hopeleſs, they returned to their homes.

In this moment of univerſal conſternation, the landman proclaimed a general meeting. The day arrived. The aſſembly was numerous. Dejection and deſpair were no longer viſible, except upon the countenances of thoſe, whoſe nerves were enfeebled by the hand of time. The intrepid youth had already found a remedy for the evil, which was communicated to their aſtoniſhed countrymen, in nearly the following terms. "We underſtand but little of the force of *words*," (ſaid one of them, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly) "nor can we diſcover any harm that an interdict "can do us. But we are acquainted with the "value of things; we know that prieſts are paid "for doing their duty, and that it will be our "fault if we ſuffer them to neglect it."

This advice was too congenial to the temper of his auditors not to meet with a favorable reception. The prieſts were ſummoned to appear, when all who refuſed to perform the appropriate duties of their ſtation, were ordered to quit the territory of the republic. Some, indeed, were ſo ſtrongly tinctured with the proud ſpirit of the nation,

tion, that in defiance of the magiſtrates, they perſiſted to promulgate the eccleſiaſtical curſe. But they ſoon found reaſon to repent their temerity; as they were puniſhed with unrelenting rigor, and ſometimes with death. Many a maſs was now ſaid, with a ſword ſuſpended over the head of the trembling monk. A marriage, or a funeral, was preceded by an armed band, to compel the performance of the appointed ritual.

When their neighbors avoided them, which they frequently did, from the dread of contamination, they entered their land, and returned laden with ſpoil, and exulting in ſongs of triumph. The abbot of St. Gall was forced to fly for ſafety, and even the biſhop of Conſtance ſuffered from their depredations.

All communication between them and the adjacent ſtates was now interrupted. But as their wants were few, their mountains amply ſupplied them. So long as God gave graſs to their paſtures, and milk to their cattle, their ſlumbers were ſweet, and uninterrupted by the terrors of ſuperſtition.

Egloff, a monk of noble extraction, ſucceeded Mangiſtorf, who died of vexation and grief. He was a man of an intriguing ſpirit, and capable of improving

improving every circumſtance to the advantage of the convent. By his ſecret ſuggeſtions, the biſhop of Conſtance was prevailed upon to accuſe the Appenzellers before the knights of St. George. The memorial was read with attention, but being unaccompanied with any promiſe of aſſiſtance, either in men, or money, it lay neglected upon the table.

More ſucceſsful were his endeavors to arm the count of Toggenburg, who had already ſuffered from the depredations of his turbulent neighbors, and was not ſorry to revenge his own private wrongs under the ſpecious pretext of defending the church. But in order to give more effect to his meaſures, he ſolicited the co-operation of the confederates, moſt of whom were now completely diſguſted with the frantic conduct of Appenzel. Zuric, without heſitation, concluded an alliance with the count. Glaris, too, though ſhe declined to take an active part, allowed her citizens to volunteer in the war. While the reſt of the cantons ſeemed determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality.

Early in the autumn, Frederic took the field, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, and encamped at Magdenau, in the vicinity of St. Gall. Meanwhile another body, having croſſed the mountains to the ſouthward, penetrated to Gaitz, a village ſituated at the foot of the Gabris. He was there met by the

the Appenzellers, upon the very ſpot where they had formerly conquered, in the cauſe of freedom. The recollection of paſt ſucceſs gave additional fire to their native courage, and rendered them invincible. The Toggenburghers fled, but the Appenzellers were unable to make the moſt of this advantage, as they were menaced on another quarter by a more formidable force.

Frederic, being now joined by conſiderable reinforcements, penetrated into the vale of Goſſau, and ſet fire to the town. The enemy no ſooner beheld the flames, from the heights, than they ruſhed into the plain with blind impetuoſity, and fell with fury upon the advanced guard. This body, according to the orders they had received, fell back, and by a ſimulated retreat, drew the Appenzellers into an ambuſcade, where they were attacked by Frederic, at the head of his whole force. The Appenzellers, who were already in diſorder, made but little reſiſtance, and having loſt many of their braveſt warriors, they fled precipitately to the mountains. The count of Toggenburg attempted to purſue them, but finding the paſſes guarded with caution, he judged it prudent to deſiſt, and drew off accordingly towards St. Gall. Several ſkirmiſhes now enſued between detached parties, which terminated in favor of the Toggenburghers; but they were productive of no material

material benefit, except to imprint upon the minds of the Appenzellers a truth, which they would have never learnt except from the hard leſſons of experience—that they themſelves were not invincible, though their country could never be conquered. Soon after a deep ſnow precluded all operations during the winter months.

1429. Early in the following ſpring, a congreſs was held at Conſtance, which was numerouſly attended by delegates, both from the Suabian towns and the Helvetic cantons, in order to arrange ſome plan for the reſtoration of tranquillity. The majority of the confederates felt a ſecret partiality for the Appenzellers, and deprecated their utter ruin. Even thoſe bold ſons of freedom were now brought, by their recent misfortunes, to liſten to the voice of reaſon; while the more prudent among them availed themſelves of this favorable change to recommend an honorable ſubmiſſion to the candor of their allies. At the ſame time they exerted all their influence to procure a renewal of the decree of 1411, which they with reaſon regarded as the palladium of their liberties.

The buſineſs was accordingly ſettled without much controverſy. The former decree was eſtabliſhed, the independance of Appenzel acknowledged, and the contributions ſettled, which they

were annually to pay to the abbot, upon his formal renunciation of all further claims. The biſhop of Conſtance, on his part, was enjoined to revoke the interdict, to conſecrate the churches anew, and to grant abſolution to thoſe, who had embrued their hands in eccleſiaſtical blood.

From this period, to the commencement of the war between Zuric and the other cantons, Switzerland enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of domeſtic proſperity. But it was founded upon too precarious a baſis to be of long duration. The harmony and confidence, which had ſubſiſted between the different members of the confederacy, and which is ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of all federative governments, had received a fatal blow. So that the exiſting calm can hardly be viewed in any other light than as a prelude to the gathering ſtorm.

For more than a century, a ſpirit of independance had been diffuſed over the happy regions of Helvetia. From the field of Rutli it gradually ſpread wherever the heart of man was prepared for it's reception. Yet amid the Alpine valleys, there ſtill exiſted a people, who pined beneath the yoke of ſlavery. It was a people too, who, ſo far as we are able to trace their hiſtory, were equally diſtinguiſhed, in the earlieſt times, by their courage,

rage, and their love of liberty. But during the degrading era of feudal tyranny, the proud ſpirit of Rhætia had been ſubdued.

Henry of Werdenberg, of the white banner, was among the moſt powerful of the Rhætian barons. He was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the haughtineſs of his temper, than for the extent of his domain. Contemporary writers abound with anecdotes which indicate the wretched ſtate of degradation, to which his miſerable vaſſals were reduced. Their lives and property were left entirely at the diſpoſal of wretches, whoſe mean and ſordid tempers had qualified them to be the fit tools of deſpotiſm. Among various inſtances of barbarity, they are ſaid to have conſtrained the peaſants to feed out of the ſame trough with their ſwine; meaning thereby to villify their ſpirits, till they were incapable of thoſe generous ſentiments, which teach us, that ſervitude is not the natural ſtate of man. One civil officer is accuſed of having carried away a beautiful damſel, from her father's houſe, and having forced her to ſubmit to his licentious deſires; while another is reported to have diſhonored a married woman, before the very eyes of her huſband.

There is no ſtate of depreſſion from which inſults, like theſe, will not rouſe the heart of man.

Thus we ſee a people, who had debaſed themſelves ſo far, as to partake it's nauſeous repaſt with the moſt filthy of animals, kindling at the proſpect of domeſtic diſhonor; while their callous feelings, once rouſed, became violent as the exploſion of the volcano.

The voice of complaint had been raiſed in vain. Werdenberg heard it with an inſulting ſmile, and wondered at the inſolence of mankind, which could enharden perſons of ſuch low condition, to annoy the ears of ariſtocracy with their vile, and deſpicable grievances. From the interference of ſuperior power it was now evident, that no redreſs could be expected. In ſuch ſituations, man reverts, once more, to a ſtate of nature, and reſumes his inherent rights. He becomes a judge in his own cauſe. He becomes the executioner of his own ſentence. All the ties, which bind him to ſociety, are diſſolved. He is an inſulated being, whoſe firſt care is to provide for his own ſecurity. It was thus with the Rhætians. Camogaſch, the father of the injured virgin, was an opulent and reſpectable farmer. No ſooner was he made acquainted with his daughter's diſhonor, than, ſcorning to have recourſe to the tardy forms of perverted juſtice, he ſought the raviſher, and with the ſpirit of a Virginius, laid him dead at his feet.

Few

Few among the Rhætian nobles poſſeſſed a more extenſive juriſdiction than the biſhop of Coire. The preſent occupant of that wealthy ſee enjoyed a ſingular reputation both as a ſtateſman and an orator. But his adminiſtration was unpopular, and in the firſt art of government, he was eminently deficient—the art of rendering his ſubjects happy. Indeed, he appears to have been one of thoſe ſpeculative politicians, whoſe ſcience is confined to theory, and who acquire a reputation of wiſdom, rather by the eloquence of their diſcourſe, than by the prudence of their meaſures. Men, who having laid down a few general principles, apply them, without reflection, to every order of things; and with the violence of a Procruſtes, would mould the world to their own confined ſyſtem, inſtead of enlarging their views, as the fluctuating tide of human affairs may occaſionally require.

It was ſcarce to be expected that a perſon, who acted from ſimilar motives, ſhould long continue upon terms of amity with his neighbors. Thus we find him engaged in continual diſputes with the potent families of Razuns, Toggenburg, and Werdenberg. Theſe petty hoſtilities gave riſe to continual ſcenes of anarchy and oppreſſion, and expoſed the unhappy peaſantry to a ſeries of vexations, which tended equally to diminiſh their re-

ſpect for rank, and to alienate their affections from their governors.

In a diſpute, which took place between the biſhop and the citizens of Coire, the ſubject in controverſy was referred to the arbitration of Zuric. But the deciſion proving leſs favorable than the prelate thought himſelf entitled to expect, he, without further heſitation, entered into an alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, hoping thereby to intimidate his vaſſals, and to force them to unconditional ſubmiſſion. But the event proved contrary to his expectation. For the treaty was no ſooner made public, than it occaſioned a general alarm. This, added to the haughty and overbearing temper of the biſhop, and the ſtill more oppreſſive conduct of his agents, awakened, in the minds of theſe inoffenſive people, a ſtrong ſenſe of independance, and led them to ſcrutiniſe into the intentions of Providence, in forming ſuch a creature as man.

That every ſyſtem of equality, which is founded upon any other principle than the *equality of laws*, is both chimerical, and impracticable, requires little ingenuity to demonſtrate. But it is equally evident to a reflecting mind, that the benign views of the Creator could have never called

called millions of beings into exiſtence, for no other purpoſe, than for the ſport or pleaſure of one. Opinions, like theſe, require but little rhetoric to recommend them. Yet the name of the man, who firſt communicated them to the Rhætians, is buried in oblivion. The author of the GRISONS LEAGUE is unknown to poſterity.

Within the juriſdiction of the abbot of Diſentis, is ſituated the romantic valley of Truns. The whole country from Ilanz, to the ſource of the Rhine, preſents a ſeries of the moſt pictureſque objects, that the human eye ever contemplated. Here the loftieſt ſummits of the Alps pour down their ſtupendous torrents, in a thouſand channels, and give birth to mighty rivers. From ſcenes like theſe, where nature towers under her moſt gigantic form, the tranſition is inſtantaneous to harmony, and peace. The fertile meadow preſents the pleaſing picture of cultivation, and furniſhes ſubſiſtence to the rude native of this ſequeſtered ſpot.

It was in a grove, near Truns, that the moſt reputable inhabitants of the adjacent hamlets met, in the dead of night, to confer upon ſome general plan for their mutual preſervation. They were ſenſible of their condition, and keenly felt the in-

juries to which they had been expoſed. But no mean ambition had kindled the flame of diſcord; no baſe nor intereſted projects directed their oppoſition. They ſought not for worldly dignities, nor for the pre-eminence of rank: they were ſtrangers to every ſelfiſh motive, and ſcorned alike to traffic in the ruin, or in the proſperity of their country. Even their very names are loſt to poſterity. And while the pompous mauſoleum points out, to the execration of poſterity, the faithleſs miniſter, or the perjured tyrant, the founders of Rhætian liberty moulder unnoticed in their native duſt. It was the innate ſentiment of freedom—the wiſh of eſtabliſhing ſome ſyſtem of equality in the adminiſtration of juſtice—but above all, that noble and manly feeling, which prompts us to promote the comfort and happineſs of all our ſpecies, but more particularly of thoſe who are connected with us by the ties of conſanguinity, or the bonds of friendſhip—which inſpired the reſolution neceſſary for the accompliſhment of ſo arduous an enterprize.

Upon examining into their reſources, they found that they had nothing to depend upon except themſelves. But the love of liberty ſupplies it's votaries with every thing which is requiſite for obtaining it. Accuſtomed, from their earlieſt youth, to the fatigues of a laborious life, their bodies were

were of the moſt athletic forms. Braced by the bleak Alpine blaſt, their nerves were ſtrangers to every ſenſation which could indicate fear. Their wants too were few, for they were acquainted with no other pleaſures, but thoſe which nature furniſhed in her ſimpleſt ſtate, and which are ever within the reach of thoſe, whoſe taſtes are uncorrupted by the faſtidious enjoyments of poliſhed ſociety.

Such were the men, whom the genius of Rhætia had aſſembled at Truns. An ancient tradition ſtill exiſts, that they were in general perſons dignified by age, and diſtinguiſhed by their long *grey* beards. From which circumſtance, as well as from their dreſs, which is ſaid to have conſiſted of the grey clothing ſo much in uſe in Rhætia, the league was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the GRISON LEAGUE.*

To a cauſe like that, in which theſe honeſt peaſants were engaged, every principle of human nature enſured ſupport. But as the object, they had in view, was neither revenge nor conqueſt, the meaſures they purſued were by no means raſh or ſanguinary.

* In German *der graue bund*, and in our own language more properly the *Grey league*.

Towards

Towards the close of the winter, ere yet the shepherds were preparing to drive their cattle to the higher mountains, a deputation, composed of the most prudent and respectable members of the adjacent communities, was selected to convey, to their haughty lords, their united wishes for a more mild, and equitable constitution. This message was accompanied by an offer of joining with the aristocracy, in the accomplishment of this meritorious undertaking.

A proposal, so unexpected, met with a different reception, according as the dispositions of the barons, to whom it was addressed, induced them to listen to it with benignity, or to reject it with contempt.

Without hesitation, the abbot of Disentis declared in favor of reform, which he considered both as necessary and just. And as his influence with the house of Razuns was unbounded, he exerted it in persuading the heirs of that illustrious family, to yield to the necessity of the times, instead of wildly struggling against the current of popular opinion. The youths listened to his advice with complacency. They had often heard of the advantages, which their father had derived from his alliance with the canton of Glaris. The services, rendered to a dear and honored parent,

by

by free men, had inſpired them with leſs averſion for a free government, than was natural to perſons who had been educated in all the blindneſs of feudal prejudice.

Hitherto we have been led, by the nature of our ſubject, to contemplate the eccleſiaſtical character, in no favorable point of view. Ambition, deſpotiſm, and pride, uſurped the places of humility, benevolence, and reſignation. We therefore, feel peculiar pleaſure in introducing to our reader's notice a prelate, like the abbot of Diſentis, who notwithſtanding the high dignities he enjoyed, and the ample territory over which he preſided, was not only the friend of civil liberty, but a firm and ſtrenuous promoter of the Rhætian league.

The houſe of Sax was among the moſt ancient and moſt powerful of Rhætia, and had taken part with the duke of Milan againſt the confederates; but in the preſent inſtance the prejudices of birth gave way to the dictates of prudence.

A brother of Rudolph of Werdenberg could not behold the ſtruggles of independance with an eye of indifference. The noble example of his elder brother pointed out to the aged and venerable Hugh, the courſe which he was bound to follow,

follow, while the benevolence of his character rendered the leſſon not only eaſy, but agreeable. With the ſoothing voice of a friend he welcomed the petitioners, and promiſed them his ſupport. But Henry, of the *white* banner, who had himſelf contributed moſt eſſentially to excite the preſent commotions, turned away from the deputies with a mixed ſentiment of anger and contempt. Conſcious of the unpopularity of his own government, he felt that their murmurs and complaints were directed chiefly againſt himſelf, and that to ſanction their proceedings, was, in fact, to pronounce his own condemnation. But the hour was no more, when the frowns of ariſtocracy were the unerring harbingers of ruin; and when all the views and intereſts of the vaſſal tribe were pointed to the feudal caſtle, invariably, as the magnet is directed to the northern pole. They were convinced of the juſtice of the cauſe in which they were engaged, and reſolved intrepidly to purſue it.

The far greater number of the barons having approved, or feigned to approve, the propoſed ſyſtem of reform, a meeting was held at Truns, about the middle of March, to regulate the new conſtitution. Many of the nobility were preſent; among whom, particular mention is made of the abbot of Diſentis, of the baron of Sax, of Hugh of Werden,

Werdenberg, and of the three noble heirs of the houſe of Razuns. To confer with theſe illuſtrious perſonages, repreſentatives were ſent from the neighboring villages. The aſſembly was numerous, and the buſineſs tranſacted under the ſpreading branches of an ancient lime.

The hopes and projects of the whole convention being oſtenſibly directed to the accompliſhment of one object, few difficulties occurred in the eſtabliſhment of the following league, which was ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner, by every individual who attended.

" Without diſtinction of rank or condition, it " is the earneſt wiſh and deſire of all, who are " preſent either perſonally, or by repreſentative, " to live together in the ſtricteſt bonds of amity " and peace; and to aſſiſt each other with their " council, their property, and their lives—to eſta- " bliſh a ſyſtem of commerce upon the moſt juſt " and liberal terms, and to provide for the ſecurity " of the traveller, by maintaining good order, " and regularity, within the limits of the republic. " From this moment, property of every deſcrip- " tion ſhall be held ſacred. No one ſhall invade " the rights of his neighbor; but all private diſ- " putes ſhall be decided by the magiſtrate, to whoſe " tribunal they are amenable. All legal preroga- " tives,

"tives, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, ſhall be pre-
"ſerved inviolate. The contracting parties fur-
"ther promiſe, never to interfere in the concerns
"of the abbey of Diſentis, but to ſuffer the elec-
"tion of the abbot to proceed with uncontrouled
"freedom. But as diſturbances may ariſe in the
"beſt conſtituted communities, it becomes neceſ-
"ſary to provide for thoſe caſes, to which the
"common courſe of law is inapplicable. Should
"any difficulty of this nature unhappily occur, a
"commiſſion ſhall be formed in the following
"manner: The abbot of Diſentis ſhall nominate
"three perſons; an equal number ſhall be appoint-
"ed by the barons of Razuns and the count of
"Sax; while the communities of Flims, and of
"the Rheinwald, ſhall ſend only two for each diſ-
"trict. By the deciſion of theſe delegates ſhall the
"affair be finally determined; and in caſe any op-
"poſition ſhould be made to the execution of the
"decree, it ſhall be enforced by the united efforts
"of the whole confederacy. Whenever buſineſs
"of importance demands more than ordinary at-
"tention, a general aſſembly ſhall be convened at
"Truns. Beſides which, a decennial meeting ſhall
"be regularly held for the public renewal of the
"league, that it may be imprinted, in indelible
"characters, on the minds of all ſucceeding gene-
"rations."

It

It was further agreed, that no one ſhould be admitted into the bond, without the general conſent of the whole. An additional clauſe was alſo added, ſtating that no article in this treaty was to interfere with the engagements, which previouſly ſubſiſted between the abbot and the foreſt cantons, or between the count of Sax and the duke of Milan.

Such is the tenor of that celebrated bond, which gave birth to the Rhætian republic. From the nature of the country, which on account of it's vicinity to the ſources of ſeveral of the largeſt rivers in Europe, is probably the moſt elevated of any in our quarter of the globe, it is frequently termed the *Upper League*; but it is more commonly known by the appellation of the *Grey*, or as we, from a ſervile imitation of the pooreſt of all modern languages, are pleaſed to term it, the *Griſon League*.

The manifold advantages, that aroſe from this aſſociation of intereſts, afforded a ſtrong inducement to all the neighboring people to proceed upon a ſimilar plan. Hence ſeveral confederacies were ſucceſſively formed amid the Alpine hills, under different denominations; all of which were conſtituted upon the ſame fundamental principles, but varied

varied in thoſe lighter ſhades, which diſcriminate character, without changing the general reſemblance.

Such was the league of the *ten Communities*, and that of the *Houſe of God*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVI.

Council of Bâle—Eugenius IV.—Union of the Greek and Latin Churches—Huſſites—View of Manners during the Fifteenth Century.

THE wiſh of preſerving, ſo far as the nature of this work will admit, a regular chain of events, induces us to continue our review of eccleſiaſtical affairs, though in point of chronology, they would perhaps come under our conſideration at ſome future period, with greater propriety. It may be ſaid, indeed, that the tranſactions of the council of Bâle have no immediate connection with the affairs of Switzerland. But independantly of the war with the Huſſites, in which the confederates took an active part, the proceedings of that aſſembly are ſo cloſely united with thoſe of the council of Conſtance, that a narrative of the one almoſt neceſſarily draws on a detail of the other. Beſides, the manners, the opinions, the laws, and even the well-being of ſociety, were then ſo intimately blended with the concerns of the church, that it is no eaſy taſk to ſeparate them.

Notwithſtanding all the decrees and regulations of the preceding councils, Benedict the thirteenth perſiſted in retaining his ideal dignity till 1424. the day of his death. And even then, he ſeemed deſirous of extending his malevolent influence beyond the limits of the grave. For which purpoſe, upon his death-bed, he ſolemnly recommended to the two cardinals, who ſtill adhered to his party, to nominate a ſucceſſor to the vacant chair. The pillars of the church obeyed, and another phantom aroſe under the title of Clement the eighth. Alphonſo, the fifth, king of Arragon, being at that time diſpleaſed with the conduct of the Roman pontiff, was happy in an opportunity of mortifying him, by declaring in favor of his rival.

Meanwhile, Martin transferred to Sienna the council, which had been indicated for Pavia, and from thence again removed it to Bâle, where it was appointed to meet at the expiration of ſeven years. By this artful management, he flattered himſelf to throw the whole burden upon his ſucceſſor, as according to the common calculation of human events, it was probable that he himſelf would be no longer in this world when the appointed period arrived. In the interim, however, he contrived to bring about a reconciliation with Alphonſo, the conſequence of which was, that the degraded

degraded Clement was once more reduced to his primitive obſcurity.

1431. Whatever may have been his merits as a pope, Martin proved himſelf a moſt excellent calculator, ſince he died a few weeks before the meeting of the council. Eugenius, the fourth, who ſucceeded him, ſeems to have entertained the ſame dread of all eccleſiaſtical congreſſes, which the vices and miſconduct of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter had rendered an eſſential part of the papal character. But it would have been in the higheſt degree imprudent to diſappoint the hopes and expectations of the Chriſtian world by the ſudden diſſolution of an aſſembly from whoſe labors ſo much good was apprehended. Eugenius, therefore, had recourſe to artifice; and after a variety of ineffectual expedients to transfer the ſittings to an Italian city, he contented himſelf for the preſent with ſending a legate to watch over it's proceedings. While he ſecretly determined inſtantly to diſmiſs them, ſhould the fathers preſume to undertake any thing, which was prejudicial to the holy ſee —an event which was too probable, ſince the general cry of Europe was in favor of a reform.

Nor was Eugenius deceived. For ſcarce had the members entered upon buſineſs, than an at-

taek was made upon the pontifical power, by reviving the dreaded doctrine of the ſupremacy of a council. Their next ſtep was to ſummon the pope to appear before them. But the humiliations to which John the twenty-third had been expoſed, taught him what he had to expect. Nothing that could happen to him in Italy could be equally mortifying; he reſolved therefore to brave their anger, and to diſobey. Upon receiving a poſitive refuſal, the aſſembly was proceeding to depoſe him; but in conſideration of the interference of Sigiſmund, they at length conſented to grant the contumacious pontiff a temporary reſpite; during which time he ſent a deputation of cardinals to negociate in his name.

This moderation, however, was merely apparent, and proceeded from his fears of the duke of Milan, who having advanced at the head of a conſiderable force, ravaged all the country in the vicinity of Rome. The indignation of that high-ſpirited people, at this humiliating ſpectacle, was no longer confined within any moderate bounds; but riſing in a tumultuous manner, they obliged Eugenius to ſave himſelf from their fury by a precipitate flight.

It would be entirely foreign to our purpoſe, to enter into a minute detail of the repeated efforts, which

which were made on the one part to correct the abuſes of the court of Rome, and the morals of the clergy; or to enumerate, on the other, all the intrigues and ſubterfuges employed by that polluted body to elude the attack. Reaſon, however, would in all probability have ultimately prevailed, over the cauſe of corruption, had not an event taken place, which naturally furniſhed a more plauſible excuſe, than any that the complex wiles of Italian cunning, even when refined within the walls of the Vatican, could poſſibly have invented.

The rapid progreſs of the Turkiſh arms, which had already wreſted from the ſceptered theologians, who ſwayed the eaſtern empire, every thing except their capital, awakened the reigning monarch to cares of a more important nature than gymnaſtic games, or metaphyſical reſearches. In the ſad extremity to which he was reduced, no hope was left him but in an union with the Latin church. Even the patriarch himſelf had ſo far conquered his averſion to the Romiſh ritual, that although a cardinal's hat was more odious to his ſight than any other object except the turban, he preferred even that to the utter annihilation of his own authority.

In order that this weighty buſineſs might be tranſacted with greater facility, the Greek empe-

ror propoſed to attend the council in perſon, and to bring with him a ſelect number of the moſt profound theologians, that the ſchools of Conſtantinople could produce.—A very wiſe precaution, had it been his wiſh to impede, inſtead of facilitating the union.

Though nothing could be further from the intention of Eugenius than to effect this long projected reconciliation, which could never be accompliſhed, without a mutual renunciation of many of thoſe abſtruſe and incomprehenſible points, which are more precious in the eyes of ſcholaſtic diſputants, than the nobleſt tenets of Chriſtianity. Yet it afforded him a fair and ſpecious pretext for transferring the aſſembly to ſome ſpot in Italy, which might prove more convenient and agreeable to the royal theologian. But finding that the fathers, at Bâle, were too uncourtly to prefer the accommodation of a ſovereign to the good of the church, he immediately iſſued a bull, diſſolving that council, and ſummoning another to meet at Ferrara.

1439. But Eugenius had to do with men of untractable tempers, who felt that the public opinion was favorable to their pretenſions. With little heſitation, they came to a reſolution not to ſeparate, till they had completed the purpoſe for which

which they were convened; while by way of proving to the world that they were not to be intimidated, they proceeded to declare his holineſs guilty of contumacy, and ſuſpended him in conſequence from the exerciſe of all juriſdiction, either ſpiritual or temporal. Eugenius, on his part, was equally deſirous to ſhew that the papal power was independant of all earthly controul. For this purpoſe, he publiſhed another bull, excommunicating all perſons, without diſtinction, who ſhould adhere to the ſynod of Bâle.

So indecent a ſcene, at a moment when the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the proceedings of the Latin church, with more than common attention, would have diſguſted any people except the Greeks. But they were too much accuſtomed to theological controverſies, to be ſhocked at any enormities which the virulence of party could excite, for the amuſement of wit, and the ſcandal of piety.

In the very heat of the controverſy, Sigiſmund died, leaving behind him a reputation of integrity, which was ſufficient to apologize for many a weakneſs. Albert, duke of Auſtria, had married a daughter of the late emperor, who, in default of male iſſue ſucceeded to the crown of Bohemia. Upon the death of his father-in-law, Albert was

raiſed to the vacant throne. Windeck, a contemporary writer, who had frequent opportunities of making himſelf acquainted with this prince's character, dwells upon his virtues and talents with peculiar ſatisfaction. Speaking of him, after his death, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms. "Since the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, no "ſovereign was ever more deeply, or more de- "ſervedly regretted by the world. It would be "difficult to point out the qualities, in which he "moſt excelled. His prudence, his love of juſtice, "his humanity, his activity and his courage, were "equally objects of admiration; nor were his per- "ſonal endowments inferior to them. In a word, "his ſubjects had only one thing to regret—the "ſhortneſs of his reign."

1438. Immediately after his election, the new emperor took the council under his protection. This, however, was by no means ſufficient to produce any change in the inflexible temper of Eugenius. He ſet all the powers of the world at defiance, transferred his council from Ferrara to Florence, and appeared amid the fathers of either church with the triumphant air of a conqueror. The buſineſs was now opened; when after a diſplay of the moſt abſtruſe erudition, the Greeks were at length prevailed upon to receive the opinion of the Latin church with reſpect to the *proceeding*

ceeding of the Holy Spirit, and to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Roman pontiff. The latter victory was of infinitely greater importance in the eyes of Eugenius, than all the controverted dogmas of the ſchools. Every thing elſe now became eaſy, and the rival theologians embraced each other, in token of their fraternal reconciliation, with the ſincerity of men who triumphed in each other's weakneſs.

But unfortunately for the peace of the contending churches, the miraculous change which had taken place in the minds of their dignitaries, did not extend to the vulgar. One of the moſt material points in diſpute was the nature of purgatory. The Greeks inſiſted that it was nothing more than an abode of darkneſs and penitence; while the Latins, leſs humanely diſpoſed, contended for the entire purification of ſouls by the agency of fire. This queſtion underwent the ſevereſt diſcuſſion; but as no oral teſtimony could be obtained, it would have probably continued a ſubject of controverſy to all ſucceeding generations, had not a ſolution been fortunately hit upon, which turned out to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties. And this was no other than the following—that purgatory was in reality a place of purification for departed ſpirits, but that whether fire or darkneſs was the inſtrument made uſe

uſe of, was of little conſequence to enquire. From this deciſion we may learn with what facility the moſt momentous queſtions may be ſolved, provided the parties concerned are deſirous of an accommodation. The people of Conſtantinople, however, were leſs tractable, and adhered to their ancient prejudices, with an obſtinacy which nothing could conquer.

1439. But to return to the fathers at Bâle. Hitherto, they had acted with prudence and moderation; but the ſucceſs of Eugenius, in his rival ſynod, and the reputation that he had acquired by the union of the Greek and Latin churches, awakened a ſpirit of jealouſy, which embittered all their ſubſequent meaſures. Giving way to the violence of their reſentment, they depoſed him, and elected Amadeus of Savoy, who, wearied with the cares of the world, had abandoned a throne, and retired to a beautiful hermitage, at Ripaille, a romantic and ſequeſtered ſpot near the lake of Geneva.

The reputation of Amadeus was high. Æneas Sylvius, who attended the council, ſpeaks of him in the following ſtrain of panegyric. "Amadeus, "during a long and glorious adminiſtration, ful- "filled all the duties of a wife and virtuous prince. "He was the protector of the widow and the or- "phan.

" phan. By his prudent regulations order and tran-
" quillity were eſtabliſhed throughout his domi-
" nions, where robberies and murders were former-
" ly ſo frequent. During his reign, juſtice was ad-
" miniſtered, with an equal hand, both to the rich
" and to the poor. When engaged in wars, it was
" rather by acts of benevolence than by force of
" arms, that he ſought to ſubdue his enemy. But
" wearied at length with worldly grandeurs, he
" retired to Ripaille, there to dedicate the rem-
" nant of his days to the ſervice of God. In that
" peaceful retreat, his dreſs conſiſted of the rudeſt
" and plaineſt materials, and was merely ſufficient
" to defend him againſt the ſeverity of the winter.
" His meals were ſimple, ſparing, and uniform.
" Such too was the regularity, the diſcipline, and
" the devotion obſerved in the monaſtery, which
" he founded, that a more exemplary and pious
" eſtabliſhment was ſcarce to be ſeen upon the
" ſurface of the earth."

Europe, however, was at length ſo weary of the ſchiſms which had prevailed of late years, in the church, that all the virtues of the royal hermit, who aſſumed the name of Felix, could draw over but few adherents to his party. Without detaching themſelves from the council of Bâle, the far greater part of the chriſtian powers remained unſhaken in their obedience to the Roman pontiff;

ſo

ſo that Felix, after ſupporting his equivocal honors for the ſpace of eight years, thought it prudent to take a final leave of all terreſtrial dignities, upon the election of Nicholas the fifth, who ſucceeded Eugenius in 1447.

It is not our intention to enter into any regulations, which took place in the diſcipline of the church; but there is one event, which happened during the council of Bâle, that merits ſome attention. After the baſe and inhuman treatment which Huſs had experienced from the council of Conſtance, it could hardly be expected that any of his followers ſhould truſt themſelves within the juriſdiction of an eccleſiaſtical ſynod. Yet ſtrange as it may ſeem, it is equally true that Procopius, the ſucceſſor of Ziſca, appeared at Bâle, during the ſitting of the council. But he came attended by ſo formidable a ſuite, that he had little to fear, while he was an object of terror to others. This ſtep, however creditable to himſelf, proved fatal to his party. Deputies were ſent into Bohemia, under color of continuing the negociation, which Procopius had begun; but the true purport of their miſſion was of a very different nature. Convinced, by fatal experience, that the Huſſites were invincible, while actuated by one common intereſt, no means of corruption were left unpractiſed, which ſeemed likely to divide them. And the

nobles,

nobles, who began already to be diſpleaſed with many of the political principles, profeſſed by their colleagues, were eaſily perſuaded to conſider them both as fanatical and ſeditious.

No ſooner had they ſucceeded in ſpreading the ſeeds of diſſention among the Huſſites, than the catholic army fell upon them unawares, 1434. and having obtained a compleat victory, in which Procopius fell, they tarniſhed their triumph by every act of atrocious cruelty, that the ſavage refinements of perſecuting zeal can inflict upon ſuffering nature.

Nothing more of importance occurred during the ſittings of the council. If we conſider the duration of this aſſembly, we are ſurpriſed to find that ſo little ſhould have been done; but when, on the other hand, we reflect upon the temper of the times, we may fairly decide, that full as much was accompliſhed as the prejudices of the age would allow. To promote any eſſential reform in matters of ſo delicate a nature as thoſe of religion, requires a ſuperior degree of intelligence; and in the fifteenth century, the governments of Europe were but juſt emerging from a ſtate of barbariſm; while the people were every where a prey to the moſt abject and degrading ſuperſtition. Even

Even the more enlightened claſs of eccleſiaſtics, who were moſt violent in their declamations againſt the corruptions of Rome, were more frequently engaged in dirty intrigues for the preſervation of their own benefices, than in any enlightened ſcheme for the eſtabliſhment of order, or the propagation of truth.

We have now brought down our hiſtory to the period, which we propoſed to ourſelves from it's commencement. The taſk has hitherto been agreeable, as it muſt ever afford a ſentiment of pleaſure to a benevolent mind, to contemplate the human character under it's ſimpleſt form; while yet untainted by the ſeductions of poliſhed life, unhardened by the ſpeculations of commerce, and uncorrupted by the intrigues of government. It is true, there is no artificial glow of coloring, no ſtudied diſpoſition of light and ſhade, to miſlead the judgment, or to veil defects: the portrait appears in the rude dreſs of nature, with all her ſtrong and characteriſtic paſſions. At the firſt glance, one predominant feature arreſts our attention: it is the love of liberty—a ſentiment, perhaps of all others, the moſt fertile in heroic atchievements; for there are no temptations of intereſt,

tereſt, no proſpects of worldly grandeur, that can divert the patriot from his purpoſe—death or freedom are the only alternatives.

From a ſpark, which kindled in the field of Rutli, we have followed the ſpreading flame, as it gradually diffuſed itſelf over a wider ſurface, till it embraced the far greater part of Helvetia. For though as yet, the league was confined to the eight original cantons, which conſtituted what is termed the ANCIENT BOND, there was ſcarce a town of any conſequence in Switzerland, that had not imbibed the generous ſentiment of liberty, and was already preparing to burſt it's chains. It is true, the acceſſion of five other cantons (for as yet Appenzel was conſidered in no other light than that of an ally) gave additional ſplendor to the Helvetic union; but a ſpirit of jealouſy had already found it's way into the very boſom of the confederacy, and mined the vitals of the conſtitution, while, to a caſual obſerver, the body politic was acquiring additional ſtrength and vigor.

UNION is the true ſource of proſperity to every nation, but to none more ſo, than to a ſtate which, like Switzerland, was compoſed of ſeparate commonwealths, the objects and purſuits of which were widely different, and whoſe manners and conſtitutions were by no means the ſame. So long

long as the weakneſs of the Helvetic republics expoſed them continually to the ambitious projects of the houſe of Auſtria, they were connected by the love of independance; but when the ſenſeleſs conduct of Frederic had drawn upon him the reſentment of Sigiſmund, backed by all the power, and all the influence of the church, the conqueſts which were then made by the confederates, gave ſuch a conſiſtency to their government, that the houſe of Auſtria ceaſed to be any longer an object of terror to them. From that moment, the charm, by which they had hitherto been kept together, was diſſolved. Diſcordant intereſts, and diſhonorable views, uſurped the place of honeſt zeal for the public welfare; while the natural turbulence of the Helvetic character broke forth in domeſtic diſſentions. The haughty virtue of the Schweitzers was ill calculated to bear with the affected ſuperiority of the wealthy Zurickers. Hence the proud integrity of the former was in conſtant colliſion with the ſpeculating meanneſs of the latter, till it finally produced an exploſion, which menaced the whole alliance with deſtruction.—But to purſue this ſubject further, would be to anticipate events, which come not within the compaſs of our preſent plan. Thus much, however, it ſeemed neceſſary to ſay, by way of corroborating the aſſertion, *that from the war between Zuric, and the other members of the Helvetic league, the confederacy*

confederacy received a blow, from which it never recovered.

M. de Monteſquieu has laid it down as an invariable principle, that *virtue* is the true, and only baſis of a *republican* government. The poſition is moſt admirable in theory. Were it equally ſo in practice, we can diſcover no valid reaſon for confining it to republics alone; but would willingly extend it's benign influence to every other form of human polity. That ingenious and allurring writer has, indeed, thought proper, from the love of methodical arrangement, to claſs *deſpotiſm* among the different ſpecies of governments; but it is in fact no government at all; it is an abuſe of government, and is with reſpect to *monarchy*, exactly what *anarchy* is with reſpect to *freedom*.

It may perhaps appear preſumptuous in us, to differ from an author of ſuch eſtabliſhed celebrity as M. de Monteſquieu; yet it is impoſſible for us to conform implicitly to a ſyſtem, which ſeems in many reſpects to be rather brilliant and captivating, than founded upon experience, or conſiſtent with the order of things. We have only to examine the different republics, that have flouriſhed ſince the days of Solon and Lycurgus, to diſcover, that whatever may have been the principles, upon which they acted in the early period of

infancy, they no ſooner acquired ſufficient ſtrength to deviate from the path of honeſty, than they boldly threw aſide the maſk of virtue, invaded the rights of other people, and neglected their own, with a degree of profligacy, which was never exceeded by any nation—not even under the arbitrary adminiſtration of Charles the fifth, or by the abandoned courtiers of Lewis the fourteenth.

The republic of Rome, notwithſtanding the proud parade of ſtoic virtue, was, from it's origin, the avowed enemy of human repoſe. The god, which the Romans ſerved, was intereſt. At the devouring ſhrine of that inſatiate divinity, was every other principle to be ſacrificed. Whatever was great, or noble, beyond the limits of their empire, excited the jealouſy of thoſe ferocious conquerors, and was devoted to deſtruction for no other reaſon, than becauſe it was noble and great. Acting upon this atrocious ſyſtem, they annihilated the poor remains of Grecian liberty. With this view they dethroned the monarchs of lower Aſia. For the accompliſhment of this abominable project, even the virtuous Scipio deceived and ruined the helpleſs Carthaginians. The injuſtice and ingratitude of the Athenians form features in their national character no leſs ſtriking, than the brilliancy of their wit, or the inconſtancy of their diſpoſition. Not even the rude integrity of

Sparta

Sparta was proof againſt the corruptions of ſucceſs.

If ever there exiſted a republic, which was erected upon a virtuous principle, it was that of Helvetia. The more nearly we inveſtigate the motives which actuated it's founders, and the meaſures they purſued, the greater reaſon we ſhall diſcover to conform ourſelves to this opinion. In vain we look for the ſtrifes of ambition, or the wars of intereſt. They had no ſhare in the actions of that plain, and honeſt people, whoſe hearts were pure as the Alpine breeze, whoſe manners were uncorrupted as the mountain ſpring. And yet in the courſe of a century and an half, a tide of uninterrupted proſperity was ſufficient to infect the two leading ſtates, with all thoſe vices and paſſions, which are the inſeparable companions of wealth and commerce. The intereſt of the public was ſacrificed to that of the individual. The grand, and active principle of the federation was forgotten, amid the violence of domeſtic diſſentions, and an unnatural union formed with the hereditary enemy of Helvetic independance.

The deſtiny of Helvetia appears to us a ſatisfactory proof, that *virtue, conſidered as the fundamental principle of government*, is the mere phantom of a heated imagination—the child of theory and ſpeculation

culation—but that it is in vain to look for it in any aggregate body, compoſed of ſuch corrupted beings as men. *Virtue*, and *greatneſs*, we fear to be almoſt incompatible in exalted poſts, and more particularly ſo, according to the abandoned ſyſtem of modern politics. In a private ſtation, we may repoſe ſecurely upon the bed of innocence, but from the moment that we embark upon the perilous ocean of public life, the virtue of the moſt virtuous is in danger.

It may then be aſked, with ſome appearance of reaſon, in what conſiſts the difference, which is ſo viſible in the characters of different people, and even of the ſame people, under a different form of government? The anſwer is plain and eaſy. *It conſiſts in the feelings of the heart.* In that noble ſentiment of independance, which tells the loweſt citizen of a free ſtate, that he is a MAN, and as ſuch has an equal claim to the protection of the laws, with the proudeſt, and moſt wealthy of his countrymen.

Deprive him of this, and his whole nature alters. It matters little by what means the change is produced. Whether by the hand of power, or by the preſſure of poverty, and diſtreſs. The effect, in either caſe, will be ſimilar.

Examples

Examples of this kind may eſcape the common obſerver, but to the philoſopher, who inveſtigates the ſprings and motives of human conduct, they appear in all the ſtrong and melancholy features of truth. Behold the man, whoſe arm alone is ſufficient to procure him every neceſſary of life! With what a bold and elevated countenance he looks around him! The ſmile of content ſits light upon his brow. That ſmile is the characteriſtic of freedom. It denotes the feelings of a heart, which can reply, with fearleſs dignity, to the mightieſt of mankind, I AM LIKE YOURSELF—A MAN. Let us now reverſe the picture. Let us reduce the ſame perſon to a precarious dependance upon the bounty of others for his daily ſubſiſtence. He will no longer be recogniſable. Not a feature, not an action, not a word will be the ſame. The open countenance of conſcious honeſty has diſappeared, and aſſumed the cloſe, and ſullen expreſſion of diſcontent, ſervility and deſpair!

The hiſtory of mankind, in every period of the world, confirms the truth of this remark. But no inſtance can be adduced more ſtriking than what may be found in a compariſon of the Roman character, under the conſular, and papal government.—And woe to the country where ſo

fatal a metamorphoſe has taken place! The liberties of that people no longer exiſt, but on the precarious tenure of their ſovereign's diſcretion.

BEFORE we take a final leave of our ſubject, we ſhall once more attempt to trace a haſty outline of the manners which prevailed in Switzerland, and the adjacent countries, during the courſe of the fifteenth century. It is not the iſſue of a battle, or the reſult of a congreſs, which alone intereſt an enlightened and ſpeculative mind. Amid the pomp of military triumphs, the imagination is dazzled, and the judgment miſled. But before we can decide, with confidence, upon the real ſtate of a nation, we muſt viſit the cottage of the peaſant. We muſt be preſent at his humble meal. If we behold him riſe from the homely repaſt, with a cheerful, and contented countenance, if we ſee him gaze, with an eye of delight, upon a numerous and healthy offspring, we may then venture to pronounce the government to be good, the people to be happy. But if, after a day of fatigue and toil, he is unable to ſatisfy the cravings of nature—if, in ſullen and ſilent grief, he looks down upon his children, who are crying in vain for a little bread, or tears himſelf from their innocent

innocent careſſes, unable any longer to ſupport the excruciating ſcene—the ſtate of that ſociety will draw from us the tear of compaſſion, although they ſhould have ſubjugated the whole globe by the valor of their arms, or rendered it tributary to their commercial ſpeculations.

By the acquiſitions, which they had recently made, the Helvetic ſtates acquired ſuch additional force, that they had no longer any thing to fear from the neighboring powers. The reputation, ſo nobly earned in the field of battle, was a barrier more formidable than thoſe which nature furniſhed. The principle of union, too, in which alone the real ſtrength of Helvetia conſiſted, had hitherto acquired permanence and force. The rude inhabitants of the foreſt cantons continued ſtill to be the fathers and protectors of the general confederacy. For though both Berne, and Zuric, far ſurpaſſed them in wealth and population, they were excelled by none, in thoſe exalted qualities, that characterize the real patriot. In thoſe great, and commercial cities, the love of gain had already divided the plodding mind of ſpeculation with the love of liberty. But the true ſpirit of independance ſtill exiſted, in all it's purity, amid the valleys of Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden. The plain and open manners of that rough and

artleſs people were ſtrongly contraſted, in the popular aſſemblies at Conſtance, with the luxury, effeminacy, and duplicity of the Italians, who were verſed in all the refinements of the Auguſtan age. What a ſource of reflection for a contemplative mind! What a picture for the philoſopher, and the ſtateſman!

If we examine the ſituation of the lower claſſes, the internal economy of a Swiſs cottage will preſent us with a perfect model of domeſtic felicity. Engaged in the purſuits of agriculture, or occupied with the education of their children, the happy and contented pair, when the labors of the day were over, met each other with the ſmile of ſatisfaction. Their hearts were the ſeats of benevolence—their repaſt the repaſt of hoſpitality—their repoſe the repoſe of innocence. Addicted alſo to the ſports and paſtimes of ruſtic life, and fond of mirth, and conviviality, the holidays were ſpent among their friends, and relations, in feſtive amuſements. The old delighted themſelves with muſic, the young with dancing. They ſung their heroes and their God; nor was the muſe neglectful of the ſofter paſſion. Their games, too, were ſuited to a nation of ſoldiers, being calculated to give health and activity to the body, energy and vigor to the mind.

Gaming

Gaming is a paſſion of ſuch univerſal prevalence, even among the moſt ſavage nations, that we cannot be ſurprized to meet with it in the romantic valleys of Helvetia. But we ſhould have expected that *chaſtity* would have been prized as the moſt eſſential ornament of the female character. Yet ſtrange as it may ſound, it is correctly true, that there are very few countries in modern Europe, where the licentiouſneſs of the women is carried to a greater exceſs. We muſt not, however, ſuppoſe, that, among the unpoliſhed natives of the Alps, *gallantry* was decorated with all thoſe refinements of ſenſibility, and affectation, which it ſo artfully aſſumes to palliate the deformity of vice. When a man became the reputed father of children, which he ſuppoſed were not his own—or when a daughter, led aſtray by paſſion, returned to the paternal roof with an offspring unſanctioned by law—in either caſe, the huſband and parent exclaimed, *Es iſt Gottes wille!** and thus reconciled themſelves to their misfortune with the ſame degree of reſignation, with which they would have ſupported any other of the unavoidable evils of life. This, indeed, is a ſpecies of philoſophy, that we ſhould have rather looked for in the meridian of a court, than among the rude ſons of Helvetia. These people were the victims of prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition.

* It is the will of God.

Had they been accuſtomed to read The Bible they would ſoon have acquired different principles. But the chief opponents, even in our days, of general education and the diſperſion of the Scriptures, are crafty, inſolent and greedy prieſts!

The habits of the higher orders differed little from thoſe, which we have already found occaſion to deſcribe. To attend the celebration of the maſs was the firſt occupation of the morning. The remainder of the day was dedicated to hunting, or to martial ſports. In the evening they aſſembled in the ball-room, or over the bowl. It has ever been a cuſtom, among the nations of the north, to paſs much of their time at table. The natural reſerve, and auſterity of the German character, was there thrown aſide, while the heart expanded, amid the charms of conviviality, in mutual confidence, and unreſerved friendſhip.

But the grand buſineſs of their lives was war. The attainment of ſuperior ſkill in all military exerciſes, was the chief object of their education, and the *tournament* the ſchool of honor. Strange would it ſound in modern times, to hear it related among the brighteſt qualities in the character of an accompliſhed prince, "that he had ſpent his "time in wandering from province to province, "fighting in every town through which he "paſſed." Yet ſuch is the eulogium beſtowed upon Henry of Luxembourg, and his brother Baldwin, by an hiſtorian, who ſeriouſly intended to write their panegyric.

Æneas

Æneas Sylvius, ſpeaking of Albert of Brandenburg, ſurnamed *Achilles*, ſays, "that he bore away "the prize in ſeventy tournaments." Much has been written in praiſe of an inſtitution, which was ſuppoſed to elevate the mind to glory. But to us it appears, that this celebrated diverſion, ſo much followed, and admired, throughout Europe, in days of gallantry and romance, was evidently borrowed from the moſt ſavage of all ſpectacles, which was ever invented for the amuſement of a civiliſed people. Among the Romans, indeed, perſons of rank had the good ſenſe to remain tranquil ſpectators of the bloody ſcene, and to enjoy, at perfect eaſe, the graceful agonies of an expiring gladiator, till the frantic folly of a delirious emperor ambitioned the honor of exhibiting his murderous ſkill to a degenerate people, who were baſe enough to applaud him for ſo profligate an act. But the inhabitants of the north, deſirous of improving upon the entertainments of Rome, conſidered the profeſſion of a gladiator as no way diſgraceful to perſons of illuſtrious birth. Actuated by a romantic frenzy, they ran about the world for the expreſs purpoſe of fighting againſt men whom they had never ſeen, and with whom they had no quarrel.

Nor was the amuſement leſs dangerous than it was ſavage. Indeed there was ſcarce a family, which

which had not to mourn ſome near relation, the victim of this ferocious paſtime.* Yet ſuch was the delight it occaſioned, that no public feſtival could take place without a tournament. In vain did the pope, in quality of univerſal father of the chriſtian world, oppoſe this perilous inſtitution, as repugnant to the precepts of the goſpel. Prejudice and paſſion got the better of religion; and great as was the attachment of mankind to the holy ſee, their attachment to folly and faſhion was ſtill more prevalent. In ſpite of councils, and decretals, the higheſt dignitaries of the church were frequently preſent at the celebration of theſe forbidden ſpectacles. While ſome of them have been known to exchange the mitre for the helmet, and to enter the liſts amid the combatants.

The knights of Suabia, and lower Germany, yielded to none in martial exerciſes. Such, indeed, was the reputation they enjoyed, that adventurers flocked from every quarter, to contend with them for the palm of honor. A memorable combat of this nature is frequently mentioned by the early writers. Don Juan of Merlo, a noble Spaniard, during one of theſe chivalrous excur-

* The memory of the reader will furniſh him with numerous inſtances of this kind. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with recalling to his recollection the premature death of Henry ſecond of France.

ſions,

ſions, came to Bâle. Having announced himſelf of illuſtrious deſcent, he declared the purport of his journey. He had travelled, he ſaid, through a thouſand cities, and had broken a hundred lances, yet had never met with a rival worthy to diſpute the prize. Henry of Ranſtein, who heard the proud defiance, was inflamed with indignation at the arrogance of the ſtranger, and felt for the honor of his country. Without heſitation he threw down the gage, leaving to Merlo the choice of weapons. The day was fixed. The judges were appointed. The high reputation of the rival knights drew crowds of ſpectators from the adjacent provinces, and ſo great was the influx of foreigners, that the magiſtrates grew apprehenſive for the ſafety of the city. A ſtrong detachment of troops was poſted at the only gate through which they were permitted to enter. Horſemen patroled the ſtreets, while twenty armed veſſels guarded the paſſage of the river, and commanded the principal avenues of the town. The liſts were held in the great ſquare. The judges led the way, and took their ſeats. The ſenate followed, clad in compleat armour, and preceded by the banner of the ſtate, while the proceſſion was cloſed by a long train of knights, and ladies, from the neighboring countries.

The

due by force of arms. The following anecdote is related of an archbiſhop of Cologne, who had erected one of theſe robber-fortreſſes. The perſon to whom he had entruſted the command, inquired very naturally into the amount of his ſalary; upon which the prelate led him to a window, and pointed ſignificantly to four roads, which were within ſight of the caſtle—meaning thereby to indicate, that whatever paſſed, was a fair object of plunder.

This martial ſpirit had found it's way into the very towns, and blended itſelf with the municipal duties of a burgher's life. So that a horſe, and a ſuit of armor, were conſidered as neceſſary appendages to the ſtation of a free burgeſs. Even the lower claſſes of mechanics had their arms in conſtant readineſs, and were prepared to ſally forth, whenever the alarm was ſounded.

But in proportion as trade increaſed, and commerce flouriſhed, the love of arms declined. The intercourſe, which took place between diſtant nations, enlarged the underſtanding, refined the manners, and expanded the views of man. How far the national character was benefited by the change—or whether in ſoftening and poliſhing it's ruder parts, many ſolid and eſtimable virtues were not rubbed away—is a queſtion for the moraliſt

raliſt to diſcuſs. Hoſpitality and good faith, however, continued ſtill to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics both of the Swiſs, and Germans. Stephen, duke of Bavaria, being upon a viſit to Galeazzo Viſconti, at Milan, the latter was continually boaſting of his treaſures, and of the extent of his power. Stephen, for ſome days, liſtened with attention, but being at length wearied with a conſtant repetition of the ſame topic, he took occaſion to make the following remark: "Your "ſituation, couſin, appears to me to be rather "brilliant than enviable. It is true, that on our "ſide the Alps, we are poſſeſſed of leſs wealth, "and of leſs power. But then we enjoy a bleſ-"ſing, to which you are a ſtranger, and which is "not without it's value—WE SLEEP SECURE IN "THE BOSOM OF LOYALTY." Galeazzo was ſtruck with the obſervation, for he had never before reflected upon the many dangers, to which arbitrary power is expoſed. The life of his ſubjects he knew to be entirely at his diſpoſal; but never recollected, that his own life was equally ſo at their's. The event, however, proved, that Stephen's policy was the ſafer, as Galeazzo ſoon after periſhed by the poignard of an aſſaſſin.

Events of this nature are common in all arbitrary governments. Yet the annals of Germany ſcarce afford an inſtance (Albert the firſt excepted)

ed) of any ſovereign who periſhed by the hand of his ſubjects. That this was entirely owing to the virtues, and equitable adminiſtration, of the reigning princes, we cannot take upon ourſelves to affirm. We muſt then ſearch for the cauſe in ſome other principle, and we ſhall find it in the hearts of that plain and loyal people, whoſe incorruptible integrity was proof againſt the ſevereſt of all trials —OPPRESSION. As a balance to theſe virtues, both Swiſs and Germans are accuſed of ſuperſtition, and of inebriety. The former may, in a great degree, be attributed to that eaſy credulity, which is the child of conſcious integrity. Since he, who is above all deceit himſelf, is unwilling to believe that he is impoſed upon by others. The latter frequently ariſes from an erroneous idea of hoſpitality. But the want of rational converſation, and more refined pleaſures, had alſo it's ſhare. Perhaps the love of drinking was never carried to a greater exceſs. The man who was able to lay the whole company under the table, boaſted of the deed as of a feat of glory. So little had the light, which already began to diffuſe itſelf over more favored countries, cheared with it's benignant rays the Alpine regions. Indeed, ſo far from allowing drunkenneſs to be criminal, the Germans inſiſted, that wherever it prevailed, the people were open-hearted, friendly, faithful to their engagements, conſtant in their attachments, of manly characters, and of intrepid

pidcourage; but that in thoſe countries, where the uſe of ſtrong liquors was leſs frequent, every low and unnatural vice was practiſed; while treachery, diſſimulation, fraud, cunning, cowardice, and hypocriſy, formed the national character. That the picture was ſketched with ſome degree of correctneſs, we ſhall not attempt to deny; but the inferences, which are drawn from it, are not equally clear.

Strangers as the Germans were to the refinements of poliſhed ſociety, inſtances are not wanting to ſhew, that they frequently carried the love of magnificence, and oſtentation, to an extravagant exceſs. The wedding of George, duke of Bavaria-Lanſhut, with Hedwige, princeſs of Poland, affords a ſtriking example. Contemporary writers have deſcribed this ſplendid ceremony with the minuteſt accuracy. Albert of Brandenbourg, and his lady, were accompanied by one hundred females of the firſt diſtinction; fourteen of whom attended the litter on horſeback, richly habited, and wearing white plumes, which were faſtened to their hats with claſps of diamonds. The emperor Ferdinand, and his ſon, had a retinue of ſix thouſand horſe. The bride walked between the emperor and duke Otho. The former was attired in a magnificent robe of crimſon and gold. His mantle was richly embroidered with pearls, inter-

ſperſed with precious ſtones. On his breaſt, he wore a large croſs, compoſed of the choiceſt brilliants, and other coſtly jewels. The dreſs worn by Hedwige, conſiſted of a ſhort petticoat, of brown ſilk, encircled with a deep fringe of pearls. Her veil was of correſponding beauty. Round her waiſt was faſtened a girdle of the fineſt pearls, intermixed with precious ſtones, which deſcended on the left ſide with magnificent taſſels. The bridegroom was habited in a robe of red taffety, almoſt entirely covered with a rich embroidery of precious ſtones. His mantle was ſhort, according to the faſhion of the times, and equalled the tunic in ſplendor and taſte. A magnificent collar of jewels blazed around his neck. His crown was of maſſive gold. His hair was confined by a band of pearls of extraordinary ſize and tranſparency. From his crown hung a narrow veil, which reached no lower than the eye-brow, and was edged with a fringe of gold. The other princes were clad with equal ſplendor, and ſeemed to vie with each other in magnificence.

At a diet held at Frankfort, in 1397, Leopold of Auſtria is ſaid to have entertained four thouſand horſe at his own coſt. Indeed, the vaſt retinues, with which perſons of diſtinction were attended, were frequently ſo numerous, that it became a matter of extreme difficulty to furniſh proviſions for

for the immenſe crowds which reſorted to every public meeting.

Though armour appears to have been uſually worn by the nobility, yet if we give credit to the ancient chroniclers, the faſhions were nearly as variable, and certainly far more expenſive, than in the preſent age. Nor was the imitation of foreign modes leſs ſervile and minute. Indeed, upon great occaſions, it was no uncommon thing for perſons to change their dreſs three or four times in the courſe of a day, and to appear ſucceſſively in the habits of different nations.---A cuſtom which certainly afforded a very conſiderable latitude for the diſplay of taſte, and for the waſte of money.

Nor was this ſpecies of luxury confined to the reigning families alone, but had found it's way, almoſt every where, into the higher claſſes of ſociety. Previous to the celebration of a ſplendid tournament, at Heilbron, towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, a decree was iſſued, prohibiting the ladies from having more than four gala dreſſes. And of theſe, none were to be made entirely of cloth of gold, nor worked with pearls or precious ſtones. The beauty, who tranſgreſſed, was excluded both from diſtributing the prizes, and

from opening the balls. A ſevere penalty for female vanity!

It is a ſingular fact---but it is no leſs true than ſingular---that the dreadful plague, which deſolated Europe during the fourteenth century, and which was mentioned in a former chapter, was productive of a very ſtriking change in the domeſtic economy of Europe, and tended viſibly to increaſe the little comforts and luxuries of life. Before this fatal period, cleanlineſs ſeems to have been totally neglected. The vanity of mankind has, in all ages, given them a taſte for what they thought *finery*; but *neatneſs* is the growth of civilization, and was as much a ſtranger among our unpoliſhed anceſtors, as many of thoſe ſocial duties, which are eſſential to the intercourſe of poliſhed ſociety, and which, upon that account, have an undoubted claim to a diſtinguiſhed rank among the leſſer virtues. This alteration contributed not a little to prevent the returns of thoſe deſtructive epidemics, which viſited Europe ſo frequently before. The houſes were now more commodiouſly built. The ſtreets were broader and cleaner, and conſequently the circulation of air was more free, while all thoſe minutiæ, which contribute ſo much to the happineſs of our exiſtence, began by degrees to be conſidered to be no leſs requiſite

requiſite to comfort, than they are in reality to health.

Æneas Sylvius, ſpeaking of the wealth and conveniencies which he had himſelf witneſſed in many towns of Germany, ſays, "that a king of "Scotland might think himſelf a happy man, did "he enjoy all the comforts of a burgher of Nu-"remberg." Continuing in the ſame ſtyle of eulogium, he adds, "There is ſcarce an inn where you "drink not out of ſilver goblets; nor is there a "tradeſman's wife, who is not profuſely decorated "with ornaments of gold. In what words," continues he, "can I deſcribe the magnificence of the "bridles?---the profuſion of jewels, which are em-"ployed in rings and girdles, and in beautifying "the ſhields, the ſpurs, and helmets of the knights? "But what are theſe to the pomp and ſplendor of "the altars, where numerous relics are diſplayed "enchaſed with gold?"* To a modern reader, this deſcription may probably appear a little ex-

* To render this profuſion of treaſure credible, we muſt recollect, that ſeveral mines of ſilver and gold were diſcovered about this period, which occaſioned ſuch an influx of the precious metals throughout Europe, that they were employed for the moſt common uſes. Some idea may be formed of their abundance, from an anecdote which is related of Albert, duke of Auſtria, who is ſaid to have dined, at Sneeberg, upon a ſilver table, which weighed four hundred pounds.

aggerated; but before we give way to ſcepticiſm, we muſt remember that the author of it was an Italian, and accuſtomed to all the pomp and riches of that flouriſhing country. Nor muſt we forget, that it relates excluſively to the great trading towns. Were we, indeed, to judge of the ſituation of thoſe cities, in the fifteenth century, from their preſent ſtate of wretchedneſs, our inference would prove erroneous in the extreme. The whole commerce of the eaſt, at that time, centered in Venice, and was from thence conveyed through Switzerland and Germany, to the more northern parts of Europe, diſpenſing wealth and proſperity in it's paſſage. But pomp and luxury were equally unknown to thoſe gallant mountaineers, whoſe actions we have recorded with delight, and whoſe only riches conſiſted in their ignorance of gold.

The increaſe of population kept pace with that of commerce. Indeed, the accounts given by authentic hiſtorians of the number of inhabitants in many cities of Germany, ſcarce ſeem credible to us, who have beheld them in their preſent melancholy decay. Straſburg, (though till lately a flouriſhing town, and conſequently an exception to the foregoing remark,) ſo early as the year 1392, was not only fortified with ſtately towers and lofty walls, but is ſaid to have contained twenty thouſand well armed citizens, who were ready upon

upon the ſhorteſt notice to take the field. The population of Nuremberg is eſtimated by Conrad Celtes at fifty-two thouſand. Alas! how miſerably has that population declined!

That any kind of commercial intercourſe ſhould have ſubſiſted, at a time when travelling was attended with ſo many difficulties and dangers, is, in every point of view, aſtoniſhing. The profeſſion of a merchant was, in many reſpects, a warlike profeſſion: it was by force of arms, that he was obliged to protect the tranſport of his merchandize, againſt the depredations of men, who held it to be a diſgrace to noble birth to acquire wealth by honorable means, but who regarded it as none, to plunder the traveller of the well-earned fruits of honeſt induſtry.× The prerogatives of birth, however, had at length ſo far yielded to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon, that they no longer ſcreened the titled robber from the puniſhment which was due to his crimes. The iron cage, in which the citizens of Quidlinberg immured a potent baron, who infeſted their neighborhood, was long preſerved as a mark of ſeaſonable ſeverity, and ſhewn to travellers as ſuch.

Both Germany and Switzerland were in high eſtimation for their manufactures, and the progreſs

× The same spirit prevails still among the nobility and clergy, and will continue as long as these orders are suffered to pollute society

greſs which they were daily making in the fine arts. Prior to the brilliant age of Leo the tenth, many of the beſt artiſts, who were employed both in Italy and in France, were Swiſs and Germans, who migrated from their native country in ſearch of ſuperior emoluments.

The diſcovery of printing is alone ſufficient to reflect eternal honor on the nation, which gave birth to an invention ſo highly beneficial to the cauſe of reaſon, and to the propagation of truth. The difficulty, and expence of procuring books, which was before ſo great an impediment to the general diffuſion of knowledge, were thus removed; while a ſcene of unexpected information was at once opened to the inquiſitive genius of man. Previous to that happy period, we are told, that the greateſt princes, who ſpared neither money nor pains, could ſeldom ſucceed in forming a valuable library. Lewis, elector Palatine, in the year 1421, bequeathed, to the univerſity of Heidelberg, his celebrated collection, which he had purchaſed at a vaſt expence. It conſiſted of one hundred and fifty-two manuſcripts; eighty-nine of which were upon theological ſubjects; ſeven treated of civil law, five of municipal rights, forty-five of medicine, and the remaining ſix of aſtronomy and philoſophy.

By

By a fortunate coincidence of circumſtances, the diſcovery of printing took place exactly at a period when the love of ſcience, and a taſte for letters, were beginning to revive. The Latin claſſics once more became the objects of admiration and of ſtudy. The Greeks alſo, who, about this time, frequented Italy in conſiderable numbers, introduced a taſte for the beauties of Grecian literature. The northern nations, indeed, were backward in receiving the new lights. A very adequate idea of the relative improvement of the human mind, on the oppoſite ſides of the Alps, may be formed from the productions of the preſs in either country, in it's infant ſtate. The Germans began with the *Pſalms*, which were printed in 1457. In the next place they publiſhed the *Bible*; and then proceeded to the propagation of dulneſs, in all it's various branches of theology, and canon law. While from the Italian preſs, as from a common centre, the rays of claſſic learning beamed upon the aſtoniſhed world. Thus, with the exception of the two firſt works, which very deſervedly merited a preference, every thing that was publiſhed by the German editors, contributed rather to impede the progreſs of reaſon, than to aſſiſt it: while the Italians dived at once into the ſources of genius, and gave to the public whatever was moſt perfect in the writings of antiquity.

It

It is evident, however, that this deficiency of taſte did not ariſe from the deficiency of univerſities. Places of education abounded in every part of Germany, where pedantry had erected her leaden throne, and preſided with unrivalled deſpotiſm till towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century. Rudolph Agricola was the firſt writer who aimed at improving the national taſte, by introducing his countrymen to an acquaintance with the ancients. The ſyſtem which he wiſhed to eſtabliſh, was ſubverſive of the reign of dulneſs, and conſequently inimical to the views and principles of the German theologians; who, unable to anſwer his arguments, affected to deſpiſe them, as below the notice of men of ſuch profound erudition as themſelves.*

But in ſpite of all the efforts of dignified pedantry, a taſte for the *belles lettres* inſenſibly ſpread. The ſtudy of Greek and Roman literature grew every where in faſhion, except in the univerſities. The profeſſors, however ſtill perſevered, with unconquerable obſtinacy, in adhering to eſtabliſhed rules, and conſoled themſelves for the neglect with which they were treated, by the emoluments they enjoyed. Reputation and genius were evidently on the ſide of their opponents, but wealth and dignities belonged excluſively to them; and they felt perfectly ſatisfied with

* See the "profligate decision" of the murderers of John Huſs, at the Council of Constance. p. 281.

Parson Pigot of Leicester drove all the

with the partition. By them the admirers of claſſic learning were ſtigmatiſed with the appellation of innovators and heretics; while the latter retorted, by exerciſing their talents for ſatire upon the partiſans of the old ſchool. Both parties, however, were ſo occupied in this diſpute, that they neglected to cultivate their mother tongue. Hence the German language grew into diſrepute, and was ſcarcely ever employed by any writer of eminence.

Even the minſtrel, and harper, who had formerly contributed ſo eſſentially to the delight and ornament of every feſtive aſſembly, were now baniſhed from the habitations of the great; while the melancholy void, that their abſence occaſioned, was ſupplied by the *fool* and the *buffoon*. In the romantic days of chivalry, when knights and paladins were wandering over the world in ſearch of adventures, the moſt wonderful relations of force and proweſs, when pourtrayed in the animated colors of poetry, were received with avidity and applauſe; but with the decline of knighthood, the paſſion for hiſtorical ballads ſubſided. The muſe was now conſtrained to aſſume a different theme. The ſports of Bacchus and Venus were celebrated in ſofter numbers, and ſucceeded to the din of war; while ſongs of love and jollity amuſed

amuſed the populace, and procured a dinner for the hungry bard.

In proportion as the minſtrel grew out of faſhion, the *fool* aroſe to eminence. The latter too, in a ſhort time, became a lucrative profeſſion, and was ſo much in vogue, that it was found neceſſary to limit the number of *profeſſional fools* by a public decree.

The fools too were of both ſexes. And excluſively of thoſe who enjoyed the honorable appellation of *court fools*, there exiſted a ſet of *itinerant fools*, who ſtrolled from province to province, diverting the populace with their vulgar jeſts, and receiving a trifling recompenſe for the degrading office.

This too proved only the faſhion of a day. The fool ſunk in eſtimation, as the poet had done before him. But no ſooner was this gay and comic perſonage excluded from the banquets of the great, than mirth and hilarity entirely diſappeared. Dull and oſtentatious ſolemnity ſucceeded to the lively quibbles of familiar wit. But whether the change was productive of any advantages in the habits of ſocial life, we muſt leave to the determination of thoſe, who are acquainted with the ſtate of ſociety in

in the German courts; where forms and etiquette ſeem to have undergone no material alteration ſince the period which we are now deſcribing.

The re-union of the hierarchy, under one common head, was effected, as we have already ſeen, by the council of Conſtance. But even previous to that epocha, Helvetia had been too much engaged in worldly purſuits to take any active part in thoſe violent altercations, which diſtracted the reſt of the Chriſtian world. To the Roman pontiff they were wont to pay the moſt implicit deference, without troubling themſelves to inquire by what authority he reigned. The natural good ſenſe of the inhabitants had induced them likewiſe to correct a variety of abuſes, before they were told, by the authority of the church, that the correction of abuſes was neceſſary. The convents too, in general, had been put under a ſtricter diſcipline than was uſual in other catholic countries. Some too, which had rendered themſelves notorious by the profligacy of their manners, had been ſhut up by a public decree, and the nuns and friars baniſhed from the Helvetic territory.

The Helvetians followed the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church, ſo far as they underſtood them. They obeyed, with implicit deference, whatever they were commanded to obey. They believed,

believed, without inquiry, whatever they were taught to believe. Of their literary acquirements little can as yet be ſaid. Indeed, we are told that, in many places, it was no eaſy taſk to find a perſon qualified for the office of ſchool-maſter. The man who could read with tolerable fluency—who could conjugate a Latin verb, without much heſitation—and who underſtood the moſt common rules of arithmetic—was eſteemed learned, and was ſure of preferment in the church. But if to theſe accompliſhments, he added a taſte for ſinging, his fortune was ſure to be made.

The Greek and Roman claſſics, which were diſcovered in the abbey of St. Gall, were ſtill confined within it's walls, where the taſte for literature, which dawned at an earlier period, appeared now to have ſet for ever.

Even the love of poetry, which ſeemed indigenous to the Alpine regions, had loſt it's influence over the public mind. A ſpirit of calculation had extinguiſhed every finer feeling in the great commercial towns. The minſtrel found no encouragement, except in thoſe ſequeſtered ſpots, where the contagion of wealth had not yet ſpread itſelf. But among the ſons of ſpeculation, the enthuſiaſm of liberty was no longer awakened by his inſpiring ſong.

Though

Though the taſte for heroic ballads was every where on the decline, the martial ſpirit exiſted with undiminiſhed force, and blended itſelf even with the ſuperſtitions of the age. In the mountainous diſtricts, when the harveſt was unfavorable, the peaſants armed themſelves with clubs, and ran tumultuouſly through the adjacent villages, aſſaulting every one they met. With theſe acts of violence were blended a thouſand ridiculous and antic ceremonies, which were ſuppoſed to be efficacious in calling down rain from heaven, or in averting the eaſtern blight.

Nor were perſons in a more exalted ſphere, and of more improved underſtandings, exempt from the general infection. Felix Hammerlin, of Zuric, an author of ſome reputation, treats the ſubject in a ſerious manner. Speaking of an epidemy, which prevailed among the horned cattle, he recommends *benedictions** as the moſt proper remedy. In another part of his work, he conſiders the ſame preſcription as equally efficacious with reſpect to

* Ridiculous as this muſt appear to every reflecting mind, a ſimilar ceremony is to this day practiſed throughout the eccleſiaſtical ſtates in Italy, on the feſtival of St. Anthony. Both dogs and horſes receive a benediction, upon payment of a few pence, from the hands of officiating prieſts, who have found means to perſuade the common people that this indecent mockery is eſſential to the preſervation of thoſe animals.

 ſtorms,

ſtorms, which, he ſays, are frequently excited by the agency of infernal ſpirits. Nay, he even goes ſo far, as to aſſert, that there are caſes, in which a Chriſtian is amply juſtified in invoking the aid of the devil himſelf. He further applauds the prudent conduct of the biſhop of Lauſanne, for reading certain texts of ſcripture, by way of preſerving the trout in the lake. The letter N, he holds to be a certain ſpecific againſt the plague. Yet in ſpite of all theſe abſurdities, this man was univerſally reſpected by his contemporaries, both for the ſtrength of his genius, and the benevolence of his heart.

Theſe anecdotes are ſufficient to ſhew the ſtrong hold, which ſuperſtition had taken upon the human mind. Nor was the conduct of the clergy by any means calculated to deliver them from the ignominious thraldom. Among a variety of abuſes, ſcarce any was a ſubject of more univerſal complaint, than non-reſidence, and the plurality of benefices. Indeed to ſuch a height had this ſcandalous practice riſen, that it was no unuſual thing for an Italian to be named, by the court of Rome, to a benefice in a country, with the language of which he was totally unacquainted. In ſuch caſes, if he were a man of family, or endowed with a cultivated mind, he very naturally preferred the brilliant converſation, and luxurious eaſe of Rome,

to

to the laborious duties of a profeſſion, which he had embraced from motives of intereſt, and not from the fervor of religious zeal. Thus was Tranſ-Alpine Europe drained annually of conſiderable ſums, to ſupport the pompous profligacy of the Roman court, while the ſacred functions of religion were ſhamefully neglected, or performed indecently by a venal ſubſtitute, whoſe incapacity and indolence were equally objects of contempt. Beſides, it was no uncommon caſe for pontifical favour to heap emoluments upon one man, which, if properly diſtributed, would have been ſufficient for the maintenance of fifty.X Even children * were named to benefices of great truſt and profit—a practice equally deſtructive to the intereſts of the church, and to the progreſs of uſeful knowledge. Since when birth alone gave a certain claim to preferment, the fatigues of ſtudy were regarded as no leſs uſeleſs than laborious.

The biſhops, in general, lived in a ſtate of luxury and ſplendor, by no means conſonant to the temperance and ſimplicity of evangelical manners. Like the ſecular princes, they had their hounds, their horſes, their miſtreſſes, and their fools. Their tables vied with thoſe of the greateſt ſovereigns, both for the magnificence of the plate, and the de-

* Leo the tenth is a ſtriking example of this kind. He was made an abbe. at 11 years old & a cardinal at 14.

 licacy

X Did the church of England learn these tricks of her mother, the church of Rome, or is such conduct inseparable

licacy of the viands. The expences incidental to ſuch a ſtyle of life, added to the immenſe ſums which were yearly tranſmitted to Rome, under various pretences, frequently reduced the moſt opulent prelates to a ſtate of pecuniary embarraſſment, that proved no leſs diſgraceful to them, than it was burdenſome to their dioceſes—as they were driven to the neceſſity of raiſing money by whatever means they could deviſe. Conteſts, attended with the moſt diſaſtrous conſequences, aroſe from this ſyſtem of extorſion. Pope Innocent the fifth, in a letter to the emperor Rodolphus, complains that the count of Juliers, after perſecuting the church of Cologne, had attacked the biſhop with open violence. In a ſhort time after, the count fell a victim to the juſt indignation of the people of Aix-la-Chapelle. No ſooner was the event known at Cologne, than the biſhop celebrated maſs with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity, returning thanks to his patron, St. Peter, for this ſignal delivery. At the concluſion of the ſervice, he ordered the following verſe to be ſung, "Now know I, that the Lord has ſent his angel "to deliver me from the jaws of the lion."

The inſtance which has been adduced, is by no means a ſingular one. Biſhops were continually engaged in hoſtilities with the laity. Indeed ſo frequent were theſe ſcenes of diſcord, that military

tary ſkill ſeems to have formed no inconſiderable feature in the character of an accompliſhed prelate. Æneas Sylvius praiſes Dietric, biſhop of Cologne, for his proficiency in the art of war. "He "was engaged," ſays the pious Italian, "in many "conteſts for the defence of the church, in all of "which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf both as a ſkilful "commander, and as a gallant ſoldier." Baldwin of Luxembourg, archbiſhop of Treves, is celebrated as one of the moſt remarkable perſonages in the age in which he lived; and yet in peruſing his hiſtory, we can diſcover nothing characteriſtical of the epiſcopal profeſſion, according to our ideas of that ſacred miniſtry. His biographer, on the contrary, is continually occupied in the narration of battles, and of ſieges; of towns ſacked, and of caſtles ſtormed. In a word, the holy perſonage appears to have been a moſt valorous captain, but we meet with nothing in his life, that reminds us either of the chriſtian or of the biſhop.

Happy it is for the world, that thoſe days of violence are paſt, and that the clergy have once more aſſumed the mild qualities of benevolence and charity, which are the appropriate ornament of chriſtianity. In every country in Europe, the ſword and mitre are now diſunited; but in none do the virtues of the chriſtian biſhop ſhine with purer radiance than in our own. The biſhops of the Roman Church are nearly as Inſolujate as ever. This, therefore muſt have been intended as a sneer.

In the firſt part of this work, we have viewed the Helvetic people in a ſituation which muſt engage the ſympathy of every benevolent mind. For what ſublimer ſpectacle can this world afford, than the ſtruggles of valor in the cauſe of independance? With progreſſive pleaſure have we followed them from the field of Rutli, and the defile of Morgarten, to the eſtabliſhment of the grand federative UNION, between the eight cantons. We have examined their conduct with minute attention during the noble conteſt. We have beheld whole armies of mercenaries put to flight by a handful of men, who had nothing to ſupport them but the love of liberty. While all the reſources, and all the efforts of Auſtria, ſerved only to ſhew the folly of attempting to ſubjugate a nation, which is firmly determined to be free.

Such was the proud, and happy deſtiny of the Swiſs, ſo long as their boſoms glowed with the pure flame of patriotiſm; and labor, and induſtry, gave health and vigor to their bodies. But while their reſiſtleſs courage has excited our warmeſt admiration, we have, in the progreſs of our labors, found cauſe to mourn a ſad reverſe of manners. By gradations, ſcarcely perceptible, we have ſeen the nations of Helvetia decline from that primeval ſimplicity, and ſpotleſs integrity, which gave dignity to the human character. Their virtues were the

the offspring of poverty. Amid the cares and ſpeculations of ſucceſsful commerce, they daily vaniſhed, till they left only a wreck behind. An extenſive trade gave birth to that degrading ſelfiſhneſs, which cloſes the heart to every finer feeling. From thence too aroſe that contracted ſpirit of party, which is ſo fatal to all free conſtitutions; and which even the ſtately fabric of monarchical government is ſcarcely ſtrong enough to reſiſt. Theſe were the corroding evils that ſapped the foundations of Helvetic freedom, and menaced the confederacy with more imminent ruin, than either the intrigues, or the armies of Auſtria. Even during the moſt flouriſhing period of their well-earned proſperity, we have beheld internal jealouſies, and diſſentions ariſing between the different ſtates. What a melancholy proſpect does ſuch a ſcene afford for all human inſtitutions! Since a government, founded upon the nobleſt principles of virtue, and cemented by the moſt enlarged views of general utility, was not proof againſt the ſeductions of wealth!

Should we ever reſume our pen, a leſs pleaſing ſubject remains to be diſcuſſed. In the ſequel of Helvetic hiſtory, the human character appears under a more common form—the votary of intereſt—and the victim of every diſcordant paſſion. For the preſent, however, we leave Helvetia in the

the enjoyment of happineſs, which has ſeldom been the lot of mortality. Rhætia was at length united with Glaris. The Appenzellers were rewarded, for their generous ſtruggle, by the friendſhip, and alliance, of the confederates. The juriſdiction of Uri extended to the ſouthern ſide of the St. Gothard, and filled the puſillanimous minds of the Italian deſpots with terror and diſmay. Schweitz, deſervedly venerated as the parent of Helvetic liberty, was equally the dread and admiration of ſurrounding nations. While Unterwalden was remarkable for it's rigid adherence to all thoſe ancient virtues, which animated the founders of the Helvetic league. By the acquiſition of independance, both Zug and Glaris had obtained the ultimate object of their wiſhes, and by their integrity, their courage, and their moderation, they rendered themſelves worthy of ſo great a bleſſing. An extenſive commerce, the child of freedom, had given wealth and proſperity to Lucerne, Berne, and Zuric, which the energy of their councils, and the courage of their troops ſeemed likely to maintain. Such is the picture that Helvetia preſented, at this happy moment, to the aſtoniſhed world! Monarchies, and commonwealths have riſen and diſappeared with alternate glory, and decay. They teach us the vanity of all human purſuits! They exhibit the chimeras of ambition in their real light!

The

The mightieſt nations that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of the world, are loſt, and gone. Some have crumbled away by the progreſſive attack of enfeebling luxury, or by the corroding hand of time. While others have been cruſhed by the ſuperior force of a more powerful, and a more barbarous people. Such a ſpectacle is grand and terrific, and prepares a contemplative mind for that awful day, when this globe itſelf ſhall diſſolve, amid the general wreck of nature. When the wildeſt projects of ambition, the moſt ſplendid theories of philoſophy, and the proudeſt monuments of art, ſhall be as if they had never been.

It is not with the rule and compaſs that we can eſtimate the happineſs, or the glory of a nation. It is by the ſublimity of his ideas, and the energy of his conduct, that man attains to glory. In this point of view the little ſtates of Greece were infinitely ſuperior to the moſt potent of the Aſiatic deſpots. A band of robbers and outlaws, aſſembled under the command of Romulus, gave laws to the ſubjugated world. And in our days, we have ſeen three millions of inhabitants, diſperſed over the immenſe continent of America, reſiſting all the treaſure, and all the power of Britain.

The heroic period of Helvetic hiſtory, (a period which will bear a compariſon with the proudeſt annals

annals of any nation) ended at the peace with Auſtria, which is termed the fifty years truce. That was, indeed, the golden age of the confederacy. Peace and union at home—reſpectability abroad. Their commerce extenſive, their manufactories flouriſhing. Their towns embelliſhed, their governments ſtrengthened. Nor were theſe bleſſings the reſult of artful intrigues, or of deep laid policy, but the ſpontaneous growth of republican virtue! Of virtue which raiſed the founders of the Helvetic league to a ſtandard with the moſt celebrated heroes that hiſtory can boaſt, and which preſerved the nation in peace and proſperity, ſo long as LIBERTY AND UNION WERE THE BULWARKS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,
JUN 22 1912